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MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

OF

DR. DORAN

VOLUME III.

LIVES OF THE QUEENS OF ENGLAND

OF

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER

VOL. I.

REDFIELD
34 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK
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INTRODUCTION.

In the reign of George II. there lived a Wiltshire gentleman, named Paul Methuen, who had a passion for reading the weary, dreary novels of his time. Queen Caroline loved to rally him on this weakness, and one day asked him what he had last been reading. "May it please your Majesty," said Paul, "I have been reading a poor book on a poor subject,—the kings and queens of England." As far as the quality of the book is concerned, I shall, perhaps, be found to have furnished one which might be catalogued in Paul Methuen's words to Caroline. If any portions of its contents escape such characterizing, it will probably be those which I have cited in the words of writers who were sometimes the witnesses of, at others the actors in, the scenes they describe. Whatever there is of merit, it is only there to be found, and I have no part therein. I am not like those dull old Roman gentlemen, who nightly attended sociable parties, whither, being witless themselves, they took their wittiest slaves to amuse the company, and set down all the laughter and applause as compliments paid to their own wit. Wherever I could find an eye-witness, I have allowed him to speak, and occasionally at some length, for I question if one could narrate what Ulysses saw, better,—that is, more truly,—than Ulysses himself.

It is hardly necessary for me to add that I have not, without some feeling of alarm at my own boldness, taken up a theme which has been so gracefully treated by Miss Strickland, and, in the "Queens before the Conquest," so spiritedly, by Mrs. Matthew Hall. When I think of the classical groups in the volumes of the latter, and the pictorial procession, if I may so speak, in those of the former lady, and compare with them my own scenes, anecdotes, and incidents, I am reminded of what Saladin said to the gossiping knight and the well-read monk whom he had taken prisoners:—"I asked you both to tell, by turns, the history of your own native land. You, sir Priest, describe it wisely and well; while you, sir Knight, tell me only tales and stories, and leave a world of matter still untold." Doubtless, there remains much to be told of the royal ladies whose names are inscribed on the pages of these volumes; and should the long-desired but not-yet-discovered diary of Sophia Dorothea, the journal of Queen Charlotte, and the day-book of the second Caroline, fall into the hands of so accomplished a reader of

cyphers, and so able a commentator on grave historical documents, as Mrs. Everett Green, I shall feel more than ever, and indeed shall be contentedly resigned to feel, what sort of honor Bibulus enjoyed when he shared the consulship with Julius Cæsar. In the mean time, I present my humble offering to the public, not only with deference and respect, but with a profoundly grateful feeling for the favorable reception given to my "Opuscula," "*Table Traits*," and "*Habits and Men.*" Finally, this present little Work I venture to dedicate to

JOHN BRUCE, ESQ., F.S.A., &c.

One who is too well endowed, mentally, not to at once discover its many defects, yet too kindly affectioned to be otherwise than gentle of censure. May he accept it, however unworthy, as a tribute of regard for the "true man," and respect for the "true scholar," at the hands of his obliged and grateful friend,

THE AUTHOR.

LONDON, JUNE 1, 1855.

LIVES

OF THE

QUEENS OF ENGLAND.

SOPHIA DOROTHEA, OF ZELL,

WIFE OF GEORGE I.

Das Glänzende ist nicht immer das Bessere.

KOTZEBUE, *Bruder Moritz.*

CHAPTER I.

GEORGE OF BRUNSWICK-ZELL AND ELEANORE D'OLBREUSE.

WHEN George the First ascended the throne of England, the heralds, with an alacrity at once officious and official, proceeded to furnish him with that sort of greatness without profit and without value, which it is part of their profession to provide for those who are weak enough to need it, and wealthy enough to pay for it. They, in other words, provided him with an ancestry; and they constructed that crane's foot roll which the Normans knew by the name of a "pied de grue," and which pretended, with pleasant disregard of truth, that his Majesty, who had few god-like virtues of his own, was descended from that deified hero, Woden, whose virtues, according to the bards, were all of a god-like quality. Now, George Louis of Brunswick-Lunebourg, with respect to Woden, was, as Dumas remarks, of a questionable great-grandson of Charlemagne, "un descendant bien descendu." The two

had little in common, save lack of true-heartedness towards their wives.

The more modest builders of ancestral pride, who ventured to water genealogical trees for all the branches of Brunswick to bud upon—before the princes of the family so named ever hoped to sit in the seat of the Conqueror and Cœur de Lion, did not dig deeper for a root, or go farther for a fountain head than, into the Italian soil, of the year 1028. Even then, they found nothing more or less noble than a certain Azon d'Este, Marquis of Tuscany, who having little of sovereign about him, except his will, joined the banner of the Emperor Conrad, and hoped to make a fortune in Germany, either by cutting throats, or by subduing hearts whose owners were heiresses of unencumbered lands.

Azon was as irresistible in field and bower as his almost namesake, Azor, of the fairy tale, and not only did this truly designated soldier of fortune win a name by his sword, but a heart by his tongue. He was doubly lucky, it may be added, in his bride, for when he espoused Cunegunda of Guelph, he married a lady who was not only wealthy, but who had the additional attraction and advantage of being the last of her race. The household was, consequently, a happy one, and when there appeared an heir to its honors in the person of Guelph d'Este the Robust, the vaticinating court-poet foretold brilliant fortunes for his house, yet failed to see the culminating brilliancy which awaited it in Britain, beyond their ken.

It is singular, however, to see how soon the Guelphs of Este became connected with Britain. This same Prince "Robust," of whom I have just spoken, when he had come to man's estate, wooed no maiden heiress as his father had done, but won the widowed sister-in-law of our great Harold. The lady in question was Judith, daughter of Baldwin de Lisle, Count of Flanders, and widow of Tostic, Earl of Kent. He took her by the hand while she was yet seated under the shadow of her great sorrow, and looking up at Guelph the Robust, she smiled and was comforted.

Guelph was less satisfactorily provided with wealth than the comely Judith, but in the days in which he lived provision was easily made, were he who needed it only in favor with the impe-

rial magician, at whose word fortunes rose, disappeared, and were transferred from one prince to another without troubling the legal conveyancers.

Guelph and Judith had found this important favor in the eyes of the Emperor Henry IV., who, forthwith ejected Otho of Saxony from his possessions in Bavaria, and conferred the same, with a dreadfully long list of rights and appurtenances, on the newly-married couple.

These possessions were lost to the family by the rebellion of Guelph's great-grandson against Frederick Barbarossa. The disinherited prince, however, found fortune again, by help of a marriage and an English king. He had been previously united to Maud, the sister of Henry II., and his royal brother-in-law, with that benevolence which prevails so largely in all communities, took unwearied pains to find some one who could afford him material assistance. He succeeded, and Guelph received, from another emperor, the gift of the countships of Brunswick and Lunebourg. Otho IV. raised them to duchies, and William (Guelph) was the first duke of the united possessions, about the year 1200.

Since that period, dukes in Brunswick have seldom failed, but the heir to the title, if he were a child when he could lay claim to his inheritance, usually found a wicked uncle in possession, who affected to act upon trust, but who never would acknowledge his ward's majority except under the irresistible pressure of force. Thus, Otho the Child, would probably have lost all of his inheritance except his claims to it, but for the energetic action in his favor exercised by the Emperor Frederick.

The early dukes were for the most part warlike in character, but their bravery was rather of a rash and excitable character, than heroically, yet calmly firm. Some of them were remarkable for their unhappy tempers, and acquired names which unpleasantly distinguish them in this respect. I may cite, as instances, Henry, who was not only called the "young," from his years, and "the black," from his swarthiness, but "the dog," because of his undignified snarling propensities. So Magnus, who was surnamed "the collared," in allusion to the gold chain which hung from his bull-neck, was also known as the "insolent," and the "violent," from

the circumstance that he was ever either insufferably haughty or insanely passionate.

The House of Brunswick has, at various times, been divided into the branches of Brunswick-Lunebourg, Brunswick-Wölfenbuttel, Brunswick-Zell, Brunswick-Danneberg, &c. These divisions have arisen from marriages, transfers, and interchanges. The first duke who created a division was Duke Bernard, who, early in the fifteenth century, exchanged with a kinsman his duchy of Brunswick for that of Lunebourg, and so founded the branch which bears, or bore, that double name.

The sixteenth duke, Otho, was the first who is supposed to have brought a blot upon the ducal scutcheon, by honestly marrying rather according to his heart than his interests. His wife was a simple lady of Brunswick, named Matilda de Campen. The two lived as happily together as the stirring times and attendant anxieties would allow them; and they paid as dearly for the felicity which they enjoyed as did their descendant, of whom I shall presently speak, who also espoused a lady below the line of ducal sovereignty, and who gave to England the second of her queens whose feet never rested upon English soil.

It became the common object of all the dukes of the various Brunswick branches to increase the importance of a house which had contributed something to the imperial greatness of Germany. They endeavored to accomplish this common object by intermarriages, but the desired consummation was not achieved until a comparatively recent period,—when the branch of Brunswick-Lunebourg became Electors, and subsequently Kings of Hanover, and that of Brunswick-Wölfenbuttel, Sovereign Dukes of Brunswick.

The grandfather of our George I., William, Duke of Brunswick-Lunebourg, had seven sons, and all these were dukes, like their father. On the decease of the latter, they affected to discover that if the seven heirs, each with his little dukedom, were to marry, the greatness of the house would suffer alarming diminution, and the ducal gem be ultimately crushed into numberless glittering but not very valuable fragments.

They accordingly came to a singular yet natural conclusion.

They determined that one alone of the brothers should form a legal matrimonial connection, and that the naming of the lucky re-founder of the dignity of Brunswick should be left to chance!

The seven brothers, in pursuance of their plan, met in the hall of state in their deceased father's mansion, and there drew lots, or threw dice, for reports differ on this point, as to who should live on in single blessedness, wearing bachelor's buttons for ever, and which should gain the prize, not of a wife, but of permission to find one.

They must have formed a pictorial, and probably an excited group,—those brothers all risking cold celibacy that one might keep warm the dignified vitality of the race. Had the gods been propitious, the lot would surely have fallen upon one who already wore a lady in his heart; and there undoubtedly was such a one among them whose own heart doubtless beat quickly when "double sixes" were thrown by the brother who had but an indifferent heart of his own, and who had yet to seek to establish an interest in that of some lady.

The lucky prince was George, the sixth son, and he experienced little difficulty in finding a princess willing to be the mother of a new race of Brunswick princes. The lady, cavalierly wooed and ready to be won, was Anne Eleanore, daughter of the Landgraf of Hesse-Darmstadt.

The brothers are said to have so religiously observed their compact, that when the story was told to the sultan, Achmet I., that potentate, who belonged to a race which knows nothing of fraternal affection when the latter stands in the way of interest, clapped his hands with surprise, solemnly declared that God was great—by way of inapplicable comment upon the legend of the seven brothers—and swore that it would be worth while to go on foot from Byzantium to Brunswick only to look at them!

The heir-apparent of this marriage was Frederick Ernest Augustus, who, in 1658, married Sophia, the daughter of Frederick and Elizabeth, the short-lived King and Queen of Bohemia; the latter the daughter of James I. The eldest child of this marriage was George Louis, who ultimately became King of Great Britain, and who was *then* discovered, as I have said, to be a descendant

of Woden. He at least espoused a lady who, by the mother's side, was less heroically, yet not less honorably, descended.

When Louis XIV. revoked the Edict of Nantes, the Roman Catholic religion in France achieved neither a less sanguinary, nor a less melancholy, nor a less vaunted triumph, than it did on the bloody day of the never-to-be-forgotten St. Bartholomew. Those who refused to be converted were executed or imprisoned. Some found safety, with suffering, in exile; and confiscation made beggars of thousands. When towns, where the Protestants were in the majority, exhibited tardiness in coming over to the king's way of thinking, dragoons were ordered thither, and this order was of such significance, that when it was made known, the population, to escape massacre, usually professed recantation of error in a mass. This daily accession of thousands who made abjuration under the sword, and walked thence to confession and reception of the Sacrament under an implied form in which they had no faith, was described to the willingly-duped king by the *ultra* bishops as a miracle as astounding as any in Scripture.

Of some few individuals, places at court for themselves, commissions for their sons, or honors which sometimes little deserved the name, for their daughters, made, if not converts, hypocrites. Far greater was the number of the good and faithful servants who left all and followed their Master. With one especially I have here to do. His name was Alexander D'Esmiers, Marquis D'Olbreuse, a gallant Protestant gentleman of Poictiers, who preferred exile and loss of estate to apostacy, and who, when he crossed the frontier, a banished man, brought small worldly wealth with him, but therewith one child, a daughter, who was to him above all wealth; and to uphold his dignity, the memory of being descended from the gallant Fulques D'Esmiers, the valiant and courteous Lord of Lolbroire.

Father and daughter had the world before them where to choose, and like unfortunates who, ejected from home, still linger on the loved threshold, they sojourned for a time on the northern frontier of the kingdom, having their native country within sight. There they tabernacled in much sorrow, perplexity, and poverty, but friends ultimately supplied them with funds; and however sad a

man a French exile may be when his purse is empty and his mind is filled with gloomy thoughts, that same mind speedily becomes serene when steadied by the ballast of a heavy purse.

The marquis was not a Crœsus even now, but he found himself in a condition to appear in Brussels without sacrifice of dignity, and into the gay circles of that gay city he led his daughter Eleanora, who was met by warm homage from the gallants, and much criticism at the hands of her intimate friends,—the ladies.

But the sharpest criticism could not deny her beauty, and her wit and accomplishments won for her the respect and homage of those whose allegiance was better worth having than that of mere *petits maîtres* with their stereotyped flattery. Eleanora, like the lady in Göthe's tragedy, loved the society and the good opinion of wise men, while she hardly thought herself worthy of either; and, like Leonora d'Este, she might have said:

> Ich freue mich wenn klüge Männer sprechen,
> Dass ich verstehen kann wie sie es meinen.

It is not to be forgotten, however, that Eleanora was a Frenchwoman, and consequently for being attached to the wise she was not out of love with gaiety. She was the fairest and the liveliest in the train of the brilliant Duchess of Tarento, and she was following and eclipsing her noble patroness at a ball, when she was first seen by a prince who had travelled a little, and now suddenly felt that he loved much. This prince was George William, second son of George, Duke of Brunswick-Lunebourg, and heir to the pocket, but sovereign dukedom of Zell.

The heir of Zell became, what he had never been before, an honest wooer. It is said that he did not become so without a struggle; but the truth is that his heart was for the first time seriously inclined, and he, whose gallantry had been hitherto remarkable for its dragooning tone, was now more subdued than Cymon in the subduing presence of Iphigenia. He had hated conversation, because he was incapable of sustaining it, but now love made him eloquent. He had abhorred study, and knew little of any other language than his own, but now he took to French vocabularies and dictionaries, and long before he had got so far as to ask Elean-

ora to hear him conjugate the verb *aimer*, "to love," he applied to her to interpret the difficult passages he met with in books, and throughout long summer days the graceful pair might have been seen sitting together, book in hand, interesting and interested, fully as happy and twice as hopeful as that other celebrated and enamored pair, Paolo and Francesca.

With this young couple, love's course ran as little smoothly, after a time, as it is said to do proverbially. George William soon saw that something more of sterling homage was expected from him than his becoming the mere pupil of a noble but dowerless maiden from France, and the heir to a duodecimo ducal coronet was sorely puzzled as to his proceedings. To marriage he could have condescended with alacrity, but unfortunately there was "a promise in bar." With the view common to many co-heirs of the family, he had entered into an engagement with his brother Ernest Augustus, heir of the chief of the house of Brunswick, and Bishop of Osnaburgh, never to marry. This concession had been purchased at a certain cost, and the end in view was the further enlargement of the dominions and influence of the House of Brunswick. If George William should not only succeed to Zell, but should leave the same to a legitimate heir, *that* was a case which Ernest Augustus would be disposed to look upon as one inflicting on him and his projects a grievous wrong. A price was paid therefore for the promised celibacy of his brother, and that brother was now actively engaged in meditating as to how he might, without disgrace, break a promise and yet retain the money by which it had been purchased. His heart leaped within him as he thought how easily the whole matter might be arranged by a morganatic (or a *diminished*, as that Gothic word implies) marriage. A marriage, in other words, with the left hand; an union sanctioned by the church but so far disallowed by the law that the children of such wedlock were, in technical terms, *infantes nullius*, "children of nobody," and could, of course, succeed to nobody's inheritance.

George William waited on the Marquis d'Olbreuse with his morganatic offer, the poor refugee noble entertained the terms with much complacency, but left his child to determine on a point which involved such serious considerations for herself. They were ac-

cordingly placed with much respect at Eleanora's feet, but she musing rather angrily thereon, used them as Alnaschzar did his basket of glass, she became angry and by an impetuous movement, shivered them into fragments. She would not listen to the offer.

In the meantime, these love-passages of young George William were productive of much unseemly mirth at Hanover, where the Bishop of Osnaburgh was keeping a not very decorous court. He was much more of a dragoon than a bishop, and indeed his flock were more to be pitied than his soldiers. The diocese of Osnaburgh was supplied with bishops by the most curious of rules; the rule was fixed at the period of the peace which followed the religious wars of Germany, and this rule was that as Osnaburgh was very nearly divided as to the number of those who followed either church, it should have alternately a Protestant and a Romanist bishop. The necessary result has been that Osnaburgh has had sad scrapegraces for her prelates, but yet, in spite thereof, has maintained a religious respectability that might be envied by dioceses blessed with two diverse bishops at once, for ever anathematizing the flocks of each other and their shepherds.

The Protestant Prince Bishop of Osnaburgh made merry with his ladies at the wooing of his honest and single-minded brother, whom he wounded to the uttermost by scornfully speaking of Eleanora d'Olbreuse as the duke's "*Madame.*" It was a sorry and unmanly joke, for it lacked wit, and insulted a true-hearted woman. But it had the effect also of arousing a true-hearted man.

George William had now succeeded to the little dukedom of Zell, not indeed without difficulty, for as the ducal chair had become vacant while the next heir was absent, paying homage at Brussels to a lady rather than receiving it from his lieges in Zell, his younger brother, John Frederick, had played his lord-suzeraine a scurvy trick, by seating himself in that chair, and fixing the ducal parcel-gilt coronet on his own brows, with a comic sort of "gare qui le touche!" levelled at all assailants generally, and the rightful and fraternal owner particularly.

George William having toppled down the usurper from his ill-earned elevation, and having bought off further treason by pensioning the traitor, returned to Brussels with a renewal of his former

offer. He added weight thereto by the intimation, that if a morganatic marriage were consented to now, he had hopes, by the favor of the emperor, to consolidate it at a subsequent period by a legal public union, whereat Eleanora d'Olbreuse should be recognized Sovereign Duchess of Zell, without chance of that proud title ever being disputed.

Thereupon a family council was holden. The poor marquis argued as a father, of his age, and few hopes, might be pardoned for arguing;—he thought a morganatic marriage might be entered upon without "derogation" being laid to the account of the descendants of Fulques D'Esmiers; *au reste*, he left all to his daughter's love, filial and otherwise. Eleanora did not disappoint either sire or suitor by her decision. She made the first happy by her obedience, her lover by her gentle concession; and she espoused the ardent duke with the left hand, because her father advised it, her lover urged it, and the council and the suit were agreeable to the lady, who professed to be influenced by them to do that for which her own heart was guide and warrant.

The marriage was solemnized in the month of September, 1665, the bride was then in the 26th year of her age. With her new position, she assumed the name and style of Lady Von Harburg, from an estate of the duke's so called, and probably the last thing she thought of among the dreams conjured up by the new impressions to which she was now subject, was that the Lady of Harburg, a poor exile from France for the sake of conscience and religion, should be the mother of a Queen of England whom England should never see, or the ancestress of one who is more honored for her descent from the godly D'Esmires of Poitou than if she could be proved to be a daughter, far off indeed, and in unbroken line, of the deified and heathenish savage Woden of Walhalla.

The Bishop of Osnaburgh was merrier than ever at what he styled the mock marriage, and more unmanly than ever in the coarse jokes he flung at the Lady of Harburg. But even this marriage, maimed as it was, not in rite, but in legal sanction, was not concluded without fresh concessions made by the duke to the bishop, in order to secure to the latter an undivided inheritance of Brunswick, Hanover and Zell. His mirth was founded on the idea that

he had provided for himself and his heirs, and left the children of his brother, should any be born, and these survive him, to nourish their left-handed dignity on the smallest possible means. The first heiress to such dignity, and to much heart-crushing and undeserved sorrow, soon appeared to gladden for a brief season, to sadden for long and weary years, the hearts of her parents. Sophia Dorothea was born on the 15th September, 1666. Her names imply, "Wisdom the gift of God;" and if she had not possessed in after life that wisdom, whose commencement is established in the fear of God, her fate would have been as insupportable as it was undeserved.

Her birth was hailed with more than ordinary joy in the little court of her parents; at that of the bishop it was productive of some mirth and a few bad epigrams. The bishop had taken provident care that neither heir nor heiress should affect his succession to what should have been their own inheritance, and simply looking upon Sophia Dorothea as a child whose existence did not menace a diminution of the prospective greatness of his house, he tolerated the same with an ineffably gracious condescension.

CHAPTER II.

WIVES AND FAVORITES.

I THINK it is the remark of Madame de Stäel,—a lady, by the way, whom the Messrs. Goncourt in their one-sided history of French society, have described as having "the face of a lion; purple, pimpled, and dry-lipped, rude in body as in ideas, masculine in gesture, uttering in the voice of a boy her vigorous and swelling phraseology"—nothing of which would be believed by those who have seen her only in Girard's picture, holding in her hand that little branch without which she knew not how to be eloquent;—it is, I repeat, the remark of Madame de Stäel, that society, and perhaps even Providence, vouchsafes but a single blessing to women —the being loved after marriage. Whether this be true or not,

the blessing here named appears to have been the undisputed possession of the Lady of Harburg.

Such a household as that maintained in sober happiness and freedom from anxiety by herself and the duke was a rare sight, if not in Germany at least in German courts. The duke was broadly ridiculed because of his faithful affection for one who was worthy of all the truth and esteem which a true-hearted wife could claim. He could well afford to allow the unprincipled to ridicule what they could not realize; and he held, with more honesty than ever distinguished knight in chivalrous times, that if it were disgraceful to commit a breach of faith even in gaming, it was doubly so to be guilty of such treachery in marriage.

It may well be imagined how hilariously this sentiment was contemplated by the princes of Germany, who aped Louis XIV. only in his vices and his arrogance, and who, while professing to be as wise as Solomon, followed the example of that monarch only in the matter of concubines.

The only fault that was ever brought by the bitterest of the enemies of the wife of the Duke of Zell against that unexceptionable lady was, that she was over-fond of nominating natives of France to little places in her husband's little court. Considering that the Germans, who looked upon her as an intruder, would not recognize her as having become naturalized by marriage, it is hardly to be wondered at that she gathered as much of France around her as she could assemble in another land. This done, her husband approving, and her child creating for her a new world of emotions and delights, she let those who envied her rail on, having neither time nor inclination to heed them.

But the sunshine was not all unclouded. Three other children were the fruit of this marriage, whose early deaths were deplored as so many calamities. Their mother lived long enough to deplore that Sophia Dorothea had survived them. This was the real sorrow of the mother's life; and stupendous indeed must be the maternal affliction which is based upon the fact that a beloved and only child does not lie coffined at her parents' feet.

The merits of the mother won, as they deserved to do, increase of esteem and affection on the part of the duke. His most natural

wish was to raise her to a rank equal to his own, as far as a mere name could make assertion of such equality. This, however, could not be effected but gradually and with a world of trouble, delay, disappointment, petitioning, and expense. It was thought a wonderful act of condescension on the part of the emperor, that he gave his imperial sanction to the elevation of the Lady of Harburg to the rank and title of Countess of Wilhelmsburg.

The Bishop of Osnaburgh was harder to treat with than the emperor. He bound down his brother by stringent engagements, solemnly engrossed in lengthy phrases, guarding against all mistake by horribly technical tautology, to agree that the encircling his wife with the coronet of a countess bestowed upon her no legal rights, and conferred no shadow of legitimacy, in the eye of the law, on the children of the marriage, actual or prospective. For such children, modest yet sufficient provision was secured; but they were never to dream of claiming cousinship with the alleged better-born descendants of Henry the Dog, or Magnus the Irascible.

George William and Eleanora mildly acquiesced, and the Bishop of Osnaburgh turned the key of his family muniment chest, with the comfortable feeling of a man who has fenced his dignity and prospects with a safeguard that could not possibly be violated. George William looked at his wife with a smile, and uttered, in something of the fashion of the prophetic persons in Shakespeare's tragedy,—"Hail, Countess of Wilhelmsburg, Duchess of Zell, hereafter!"

I, of course, do not mean to imply that this was more than mentally uttered. That the idea possessed the duke, and that he acted upon it quite as much as if he had given it expression, and bound himself by its utterance, is clearly distinguishable by his subsequent action. He was resolved not to rest until his wife should also be his duchess. A "star-chamber matter" has been made of many a simpler thing, but a smile is allowable when we read of the fact that the Estates of Germany gravely discussed the subject as to whether a worthy wife should be permitted to wear the title which was commonly worn by her husband. This had once before been permitted to a single lady, who had given her hand, or, to speak more in the spirit of Brunswick court lawyers, whose hand

had been graciously taken by a Brunswick duke. In the case, furnishing a precedent, the lady in question was at least a native of the duchy; but in the present case a great difficulty presented itself, the lady was a foreigner with nothing ennobling her but her virtues. The Estates thought long, and adjourned often ere they came to a tardy and reluctant conclusion, by which the boon sought was at length conceded. When the emperor added his consent, there was many a princess in the various German courts who became tremblingly sensible that Teutonic greatness had been shattered for ever.

The concession made by the Estates, and the sanction superadded by the emperor, were, however, only obtained upon the military bishop withholding all opposition. The princely prelate was, in fact, bought off. Again his muniment-box was unlocked; once more he and his staff of lawyers were deep in parchments, and curious in the geography of territorial maps and plans. The result of much dry labor and heavy speculation was an agreement entered into by the two brothers. The Duke of Zell contracted that the children of his marriage, with the daughter of the Poitevin marquis, should inherit only his private property, and the empty title of Counts, or Countesses, of Wilhelmsburg. The territory of Zell with other estates added to the sovereign dukedom were to pass to the prince-bishop or his heirs. On these terms Eleanora of Olbreuse, Lady of Harburg, and Countess of Wilhelmsburg, became Duchess of Zell.

"Ah!" exclaimed the very apostolic bishop to the dissolute disciples at his court, on the night that the family compact was made an accomplished fact, "my brother's French *Madame*, is not a jot the more his wife, for being duchess,"—which was true, for married is married, and there is no comparative degree of intensity which can be applied to the circumstance. "But she has a dignity the more, and therewith may *Madame* rest content,"—which was not true, for no new title could add dignity to a woman like the wife of Duke George William. As to being content, she knew not what it was to lack content until after the period when Brunswick greeted her by an empty name.

As yet, however, all went,—if I may employ a simile much

cracked by wear,—all went as merry as a marriage bell;—save when the knell tolled for the three happy children who were summoned early to occupy graves over which their mistaken parents long and deeply mourned. Sophia Dorothea was the sole daughter then of their house, if not of their hearts, and she was a "thing of beauty," beloved by all, because of her worth, and flattered by none, because she was nobody's heiress.

Of the personal history of her youth, the most salient circumstance is, that when she was yet but seven years old, she had for an occasional playfellow in the galleries and gardens of Zell and Calenberg, a handsome lad, Swedish by birth, but German by descent, whose name was Philip Christopher von Königsmark. He was in Zell for the purpose of education, and many of his vacation hours were spent with the child of George William, who was his father's friend. When gossips saw the two handsome children, buoyant of spirit, beaming with health, and ignorant of care, playing hand in hand at sports natural to their age, those gossips prophesied "in bated breath," of future marriage. They could foretell "circumstance," like our laureate, and prattle in reference to these happy children, of

> "Two lovers whisp'ring by an orchard wall,
> Two lives bound fast in one with golden ease:
> Two graves grass-green beside a gray church tower,
> Wash'd with still rains and daisy-blossomed;"—

but their "circumstance" was as aërial as that of the poet, and they could not foresee the dark reality,—one child in a dungeon, the other in a bloody grave.

Indeed their speculation in this direction had soon no food whereon to live, for the young Königsmark was speedily withdrawn from Zell, and Sophia bloomed on alone, or with other companions, good, graceful, fair, accomplished, and supremely happy.

But even daughter as she was of a left-handed marriage, there was hanging to her name a dower sufficiently costly to dazzle and allure even princely suitors. To one of these she was betrothed before she was ten years old. The suitor was a soldier and a prince, and although not as much older than his little lady, than Richard II. was when at the age of nine and twenty, he espoused

the French Princess Isabella of Valois, with no more years upon her sunny brow than nine,—a child whom he married politically, loved paternally, and was beloved by filially, as he well merited;—although the disparity was not so great, it was enough to bar anything beyond betrothment.

The princely lover in question was the cousin of the *quasi* princely lady, Augustus Frederick, Crown-Prince of Brunswick-Wölfenbuttel. This crown prince was allured by the "beaux yeux de la casette" of the little heiress. If Mr. Justice Alderson takes license to make puns when the court is dull and cases heavy, it may be pardoned a poor chronicler, if he marks down in his record, that the Crown Prince of Brunswick-Wölfenbuttel was mightily moved by the crowns sets down as the dower that was to go with the hand of the Duke's daughter. These were little better than half-crowns after all,—thalers worth about three shillings each, and of them one hundred thousand. The lover possibly exclaimed as Boileau's celebrated gentleman did—

Elle a cent mille vertus en louis bien comptées.

But for louis here were only *thalers;* and a hundred thousand thalers is at the most but fifteen thousand pounds sterling, and that was but an humble dower for a Duke's only daughter. In the country, where merchants *are* "princes," sires give as much to each of a whole circle of daughters; but George William was only Duke of Zell.

In the meantime, the affianced lover had to prove himself, by force of arms, worthy of his lady and her fortune. The latter, at least, was hardly worth the risk he ran to show himself deserving, and which deprived him of that in honor of which he put himself in peril. At the time of which I am speaking there was as much murderous bad ambition abroad in the world as there now is heaping a mountain of responsibility for murder upon the head of the late Czar Nicholas. One of the consequences thereof was the noted siege of Philipsburg, in the year 1676. Thither repaired the chivalrous Augustus of Brunswick-Wölfenbuttel. He went to the bloody work proudly, plume in helm, scarf on breast, and all the insignia of greatness about him. There was nothing in his

nature of that humility, so selfish in aspect, which distinguishes Russian officers going into action,—gallant leaders, who deck themselves in the great coats of private soldiers, in order to avoid mortal honor from those opponents who seek to cross swords with men supposed to be worthy of their steel. This novel phasis of strategy, of Russian introduction, was not yet known in the days of Augustus of Brunswick-Wölfenbuttel. He was accordingly content to take his chance honestly and valiantly, and he bore himself with a dignity and daring that entitled him to respect. With regret it must be added, that the fortune of war deprived him of that which he hoped to reap with the hand of Sophia Dorothea. A fatal bullet slew him suddenly; a brief notice in a despatch was his soldierly requiem, and when the affianced child-bride was solemnly informed by circumstance of Hof-Marshal that her lord was slain and her heart was free, she was too young to be sorry, and too unconscious to be glad. But glad she would not have been, had she known that by the slaying of one lover at Philipsburg she was ultimately to gain another, the gain of whom would prove a bitter loss.

Meanwhile, the two courts of the Bishop of Osnaburgh and the Duke of Zell, continued to present a striking contrast. At the latter, harmony and respectability reigned in common. At that of the Bishop there was little of either, even the ostentatious patronage bestowed on literature was not respectable, *because* it was ostentatious. It was, however, the best feature of which the Court had to boast.

The Bishop was one of those men who think themselves nothing unless they are imitating some greater man, not in his virtues but his vices. There was one man in Europe whom Ernest Augustus described as a "paragon," and that distinguished personage was Louis XIV. The vices, extravagance, the pomposity of the great king, were the dear delights of the little prince. As Louis neglected his wife, so Ernest Augustus disregarded *his*. Fortunately, Sophia, the wife of the latter, had resources in her mind, which made her consider with exemplary indifference the faithlessness of her lord. Assuredly, *his*, like Israel's incense, was too often cast upon unworthy shrines, and the goddesses who

received it were in every respect unworthy of the homage. Every prince is not a Pericles, and if he were, he would find that every Lais, for being the favorite of a prince, is not necessarily as intellectually gifted as the extravagant and accomplished lady of old.

And yet, as far as regards a particular sort of extravagance and accomplishment, perhaps few ladies could have surpassed those known at Hanover as Catherine and Elizabeth von Meissengen. Introduced to a court of ill-dressed ladies, they set the fashion of a witchery of costume, remarkable for its taste, and sometimes for outraging it. Had they come straight from the euphuistic and gallantly attired circle of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, they could not have been nicer of phrase nor more resplendent of garb. They possessed, too, the great talent of Madame de Sillery Genlis, and where inimitable in their ability and success in getting up little *fêtes*, at home or abroad, in the *salon*, or *al fresco*—formal and full-dressed, or rustic and easy—where major-generals were costumed as agricultural swains, and ladies of honor as nymphs or dairy-maids, with costumes rural of fashioning, but as resplendent and costly as silkman and jeweller could make them.

These young ladies came to Court precisely as knights used to do of old,—to push their fortunes,—but not exactly after a knightly fashion. They hoped in some way to serve the sovereign; or, failing him, to be agreeable to the Crown Prince George Louis, (afterwards George I. of England). But even the Crown Prince, a little and not an attractive person, to say nothing of the Bishop, seemed for a time a flight above them. They could wait a new opportunity; for as for defeat in their aspirations, they would not think of it. They had the immense power of those persons who are possessed by one single idea, and who are under irresistible compulsion to carry it out to reality. They could not reach the Prince Bishop or his heir, and accordingly they directed the full force of their enchantments at two very unromantic-looking personages, the private tutors of the young princes of Hanover. They were soon mighty at Greek particles, learned in the aorists, fluent on the digamma, and familiar with the mysteries of the differential calculus.

Catherine and Elizabeth von Meissingen opened a new gram-

mar before their learned pundits, the *Herrn* Busche and Platen; and truth to tell, the philosophers were nothing loth to pursue the new study taught by such professors. When this educational course had come to a close, the public recognized at once its aim, quality and effects, by learning that the sage preceptors had actually married two of the liveliest and lightest-footed of girls that had ever danced a *branle* at the balls in Brunswick. The wives, on first appearing in public after their marriage, looked radiant with joy. The tutors wore about them an air of constraint, as if they thought the world needed an apology, by way of explaining how two Elders had permitted themselves to be vanquished by a brace of Susannas. Their ideas were evidently confused, but they took courage as people cheerfully laughed, though they may have lost it again on discovering that they had been drawn into matrimony by two gracefully-graceless nymphs, whose sole object was to use their spouses as stepping-stones to a higher greatness.

There must have been many attendant advantages in connection with such an object, or the two married philosophers would hardly have worn the air of content which they put on as soon as they saw the aim of their estimable wives, and felt the gain thence accruing.

Elizabeth von Meissengen, the wife of Platen, was the true mistress of the situation. Platen, principally through her intrigues, had been appointed prime-minister of the sovereign Bishop. The business to be transacted by potentate and premier could not have been very extensive,—but it was serious on one point, seeing that *that* had reference to the question of the succession of the House of Brunswick to the throne of Great Britain. But as this question was not one of a "much vexed" character, the time passed by Platen with his sovereign master afforded him ample leisure to talk of his wife, praise her political abilities, and over-eulogize her, as men and women do the consorts for whom they have no cause to bear an over-heaped measure of respect.

The Prince Bishop felt his curiosity excited to behold and study more nearly this phœnix of a woman. The curiosity of such a sovereign a loyal subject would, of course, be eager to gratify. It

was, therefore, the most natural of consequences that von Platen should lead his lady to his master's feet, though it perhaps was not so natural that he should leave her there to "improve" the position thus reached.

The lady lost no time in justifying all that her husband had advanced in warranty of her talent, skill, and willingness to use them for the advantage of the Bishop and his dominions; the powerful prelate was enchanted with her,—enchanted with her in every sense. Were I treating of mythic, classical, or romantic mediæval days, it would just be barely possible to throw a poetical feeling round such a "tableau" as that presented by the Bishop and the diplomatic Madame von Platen. But "Hebe in Hercules' arms" is very well in statuary, and "Dido with Æneas" may be attractive on canvas, while the love adventures of Arthur, and the adventurous and liberal love of Guinever may amuse us in ballads,—but there is a light of reality that does not dazzle us like the light of romance. Full in such illumination is revealed to us the picture of Bishop Ernest and Elizabeth von Platen. A more shameless couple never stood at the tribunal of judgment; but if they were not ashamed of their own iniquity, therein lies no reason why we should detail it. Quite sufficient will it be to remark that it had its reward; and if the wages of sin, in this case, were not literally a death, they were at least quite as retributive, and not the more welcome.

When Alcides submitted to take the distaff of Omphale, and uncomplainingly endured to be buffeted by her slipper, he only afforded an illustration of how power may playfully make itself the slave of weakness,—there is even something pretty in the picture. It is strong man yielding to womanly influence; and the picture only ceases to be heroic, without ceasing to be of an amiable aspect, when the chief character is poor, sickly, Cowper, winding up cotton in reels for good Mrs. Unwin.

But the obese Ernest Augustus in the hands of the youthful Elizabeth von Platen, reminds me of nothing so much as of the "Lion in Love," deservedly having his claws clipped by the clever object of his ridiculous adoration: the fate of the lion was also that of the Bishop. He was not, indeed, a man of weak mind, but that

of Madame von Platen was still stronger. He could rule his minister, but not his minister's wife; and most appropriately might he have made paraphrastic application of the line in Othello, and have declared his consciousness with a sigh, that his "general's wife was now the general."

CHAPTER III.

THE BRUNSWICKER IN ENGLAND.

WHILE all was loose and lively at the court of the Bishop, there was only the daily routine of simple pleasures and duties to mark the course of events at the modest court of the Duke of Zell. The monotony of the latter locality was, however, agreeably interrupted by the arrival there of his Serene Highness Prince Augustus William of Wölfenbuttel. He had just been edified by what he had witnessed during his brief sojourn in the episcopal circle of Osnaburgh, where he had seen two ladies exercising a double influence, Madame von Platen ruling her husband and his master, while her sister Caroline von Busche was equally obeyed by *her* consort and his Highness George Louis, the Bishop's son.

Prince Augustus of Wölfenbuttel was the brother of that early suitor of the little Sophia Dorothea, who had met a soldier's death at the siege of Philipsburg. He was, like his brother, not as rich in gold pieces as in good qualities, and was more wealthy in virtues than in acres. He was a bachelor prince, with a strong inclination to lay down his bachelorship, at the feet of a lady who would, by addition of her dowry, increase the greatness and material comforts of both. Not that Augustus of Wölfenbuttel was mercenary; he was simply prudent. A little princely state in Germany cost a great deal to maintain, and when the errant Prince went forth in search of a lady with a dower, his last thought was to offer himself to one who had no heart, or who had no place in his own. If there was some system, a little method, and an air of business about the passion and principle of the puissant Prince Augustus, something thereof must be laid to the charge of the times, and a

little to the princely matter-of-fact good sense: he is a wise and a merciful man, who, ere he comes to conclusions with a lady, on the chapter of matrimony, first weighs prospects, and establishes, as far as in him lies, a security of sunshine.

Augustus of Wölfenbuttel had long suspected that the sun of his future home was to be found at Zell, and in the person of his young cousin Sophia Dorothea. Even yet tradition exists among Brunswick maidens as to the love-passages of this accomplished and handsome young couple. Those passages have been enlarged for the purposes of romance-writers, but divested of all exaggeration, there remains enough to prove, as touching this pair, that they were well assorted both as to mind and person; that their inclinations were towards each other; and that they were worthy of a better fate than that which fell upon the honest and warm affection which reigned in the hearts of both.

The love of these cousins was not the less ardent for the fact of its being partially discouraged. The Duke of Zell looked upon the purpose of Prince Augustus with an unfavorable eye. He had indeed nothing to object to the suitor's person, character, position, or prospects. Hé did not deny that with such a husband, his daughter might secure that which Monsieur Necker's daughter has designated as woman's sole blessing, happiness in the married state; but then that suitor was the successor of a dead brother, who had been the prosecutor of a similar suit. The simple-minded Duke had an unfeigned superstitious awe of the new lover; and the idea of consenting to a match under the circumstances as they presented themselves, seemed to him tantamount to a species of sacrilege outraging the *manes* and memory of the defunct kinsman.

But then, on the other hand, the Duke loved his daughter, and the daughter assuredly loved Augustus of Wölfenbuttel; and, added thereto, the good Duchess Eleanora was quite disposed to see the cherished union accomplished, and to bestow her benediction upon the well-favored pair. Altogether, there were strong odds against the opposition of a father, which rested on no better foundation than a tripod, if one may so speak, of whim, doubt, and a fear of ghosts. He was influenced, possibly, by his extensive reading in old legendary ballad-lore, metrical and melancholy German ro-

mances, the commonest incident in which is the interruption of a marriage ceremony by a spiritual personage professing priority of right.

It was not without infinite trouble that the lovers and the Duchess succeeded in breaking down the opposition of the Duke. Even when his reluctant consent had been given, he was everlastingly bringing forward the subject of the departed suitors, until his remarks became as wearisome as the verses of the German author, who wrote a poem of three hundred lines in length, all about pigs, and every word of which began with the letter P.

The opposition to the marriage was not, however, all surmounted when the antagonism of the Duke had been successfully overcome. A father may be accounted for something even in a German dukedom; but a mistress may be stronger, and Madame von Platen has the credit of having carried out her opposition to the match to a very successful issue.

It is asserted of this clever lady, that she was the first who caused the Bishop of Osnaburgh thoroughly to comprehend that Sophia Dorothea would form a very desirable match for his son George Louis. The young lady had lands settled on her which might as well be added to the territory of that electoral Hanover of which the Prince-Bishop was soon to be the head. Every acre added to the possessions of the chief of the family would be by so much an increase of dignity, and little sacrifices were worth making to effect great and profitable results. The worthy pair, bishop and female prime minister, immediately proceeded to employ every conceivable engine whereby they might destroy the fortress of the hopes of Sophia Dorothea and Augustus of Wölfenbuttel. They cared for nothing, save that the hand of the former should be conferred upon the Bishop's eldest son; that George who was subsequently our George I., and who had as little desire to be matched with his cousin, or his cousin with him, as kinsfolk can have who cordially detest each other.

George Louis was not shaped for a lover. He was not indeed as deformed as Prince Riquet with the tuft, but neither was he possessed of that legendary prince's wit, refinement, and most winning ways. George Louis was mean in person and character.

Epaminondas was little more than a dwarf, but then he was a giant measured by the stature of his worth. Not so this heir of great hopes; he was the lord of small virtues; and his insignificance of person *was* insignificant only because it bore not about it any manly stamp, or outward promise of an inward merit. George was brave indeed; to none of the princes of the House of Brunswick can be denied the possession of bravery. In all the bloody and useless wars of the period, he had distinguished himself by his dauntless courage and his cool self-possession. I have intimated that he was not heroic, but I may correct the phrase; he really looked heroic at the head of his squadron, charging across the battle-field, and carrying his sword and his fringed and feathered hat into the very thickest of the fray, where the thunder was loudest, and death revelled amid the incense of villanous saltpetre. He did not fail, it may be added, in one of the characteristics of bravery, humanity on the field. He had no great heart for the common sufferings, or the mental anguish, of others; but for a wounded foe he had a thorough English respect, and he no more dreamed of the Muscovite officers' fashion of massacring the helpless wounded enemy than he did of the Millennium.

Out of the field of battle George Louis was an extremely ordinary personage, except in his vices. He was coarsely-minded and coarsely-spoken, and his profligacy was so extreme of character,—it bore about it so little of what Lord Chesterfield recommended when he said, a man might be gentlemanlike even in his vices, that even the Bishop, easy as he was both as parent and prelate, and rich as he was himself in evil example to a son who needed no such warrant to plunge headlong into sin,—even the Bishop felt uncomfortable for a while. He thought, however, as easy fathers do sometimes think, that marriage would cure profligacy. When we read in German ballads of pure young girls being sacrificed to monsters, the meaning probably is, that they are given, unconsulted and unheeded, to lords and masters who are odious to them.

George Louis was now in his twenty-second year. He was born in 1660, and he had recently acquired increase of importance from the fact of his sire having succeeded to the paternal estates,

grandeur, and expectations of his predecessor, Duke John Frederick. The latter was on his way to Rome, in 1679, a city which he much loved, holding in respect a good portion of what is taught there. He was proceeding thither with a view of a little more of pleasure and something therewith of instruction, when a sudden attack of illness carried him off, and his death excited as much grief in the Bishop as it possibly could in a son who had little reverence for his sire, and by whose death he profited largely.

When the Bishop, as a natural consequence of his death, established a gayer court at Hanover than had ever yet been seen there, became sovereign duke, made a sovereign duchess of his wife Sophia, of whom I shall have to speak more at large, in a future page, and raised George Louis to the rank of a "Crown Prince," a title given to many heirs who could inherit nothing but coronets,—the last-named individual began to consider speculatively as to what royal lady he might, with greatest prospect of advantage to himself, make offer of his hand.

At the time here spoken of, it will be remembered that Charles II. was King in England. The King's brother, James, Duke of York, had a daughter, a certain "lady Anne," who is better known to us all by her after-title, in which there is undeniable truth seasoned by a little flattery, of "good Queen Anne." In the year 1680, George of Hanover came over to England with matrimonial views respecting that young Princess. He had on his way visited William of Orange, at the Hague; and when that calculating Prince was made the confidential depository of the views of George Louis respecting the Princess Anne of England, he listened with much complacency, but is suspected of having forthwith set on foot the series of intrigues which, helped forward by Madame von Platen, ended in the recall of George from England, and in his hapless marriage with the more hapless Sophia Dorothea.

George of Hanover left the Hague with the conviction that he had a friend in William; but William was no abettor of marriages with the Princess Anne, and least of all could he wish success to the hereditary prince of Hanover, whose union with one of the heiresses of the British throne might, under certain contingencies, miserably mar his own prospects. The case is very succinctly put

by Miss Strickland, who makes allusion to the subject of this visit and contemplated marriage in her life of Mary, the wife of William. "If George of Hanover married Anne of York, and the Princess of Orange died first, without offspring (as she actually did), William of Orange would have had to give way before their prior claims on the succession; to prevent which he set at work a threefold series of intrigues, in the household of his sister-in-law, at the court of Hanover, and that of Zell." The plot was as complicated as any in a Spanish comedy, and it is as hard to unravel.

A history of Brunswick, published anonymously soon after the accession of George I. to the crown of these realms, asserts that the Prince arrived in this country to prosecute his suit to the Princess Anne, who had just been somewhat unexpectedly deprived of another lover, on the 17th of November, 1680. The Sidney Diary fixes his arrival at Greenwich on the 6th of December of that year. England was much disturbed at the time by a double subject of discussion. Men's minds were much occupied with the question of excluding from the succession to the throne James, the father of the lady to whom George came a-wooing. The second subject of disquietude was the trial of Lord Viscount Stafford, who was then in process of being slowly murdered by a judicial trial, on a charge of conspiring the death of the King. The charge was supported by the oaths, made with alacrity, of that pupil of whom Merchant Taylors' School is not proud, Titus Oates, and one or two others—liars as stupendous. If George Louis landed at Greenwich, as is said, on the 6th of December, 1680, it was the day on which the calumniated nobleman entered on his defence. On the 7th he was condemned, and Evelyn, who was present at the trial, rightly remarks upon the guilt or innocence of the accused in this strain:—"I can hardly think that a person of his age and experience should engage men whom he never saw before (and one of them that came to visit him as a stranger at Paris), *point blank* to murder the King;" but in recollection of the deliberate and hard swearing, he adds, perplexedly, "God only, who searches hearts, can discover the truth." On the 29th of the month Viscount Stafford was beheaded on Tower Hill, and at this lively spectacle George of Hanover was probably pres-

ent, for on the 30th of the month he sends a long letter to her Serene Highness, his mother, stating that "they cut off the head of Lord Stafford yesterday, and made no more ado about it than if they had chopped off the head of a pullet."

In this letter, the writer enters into the details of the incidents of his arrival and reception in England. His highness's spelling of the names of places is as defective as that of poor Caroline of Brunswick was generally, and it reminds us, if one may go to the stage for a simile, of the "Cacolology" of Lord Duberly. However, the prince spelt quite as correctly as many a lord or lady either, of his time. The tenor of his epistle is, that he remained one whole day at anchor at "*Grunnwitsch*," (which is his reading of Greenwich,) while his secretary, Mr. Beck, went ashore to look for a house for him, and find out his uncle Prince Rupert. Scant ceremony was displayed, it would appear, to render hospitable welcome to such a visitor. Hospitality, however, did not altogether lack. The zealous Beck found out "Uncle Robert," as the prince ungermanizes Rupert, and the uncle having little of his own to offer to his nephew, straightway announced to Charles II. the circumstance that the princely lover of his niece was lying in the mud off *Grunnwitsch*. "His Majesty," says George Louis, "immediately ordered them apartments at *Writhall*,"—and he then proceeds to state that he had not been there above two hours when Lord Hamilton arrived to conduct him to the king, who received him most obligingly. He then adds, "Prince *Robert* had preceded me, and was at court when I saluted King Charles. In making my obeisance to the king, I did not omit to give him the letter of your Serene Highness; after which he spoke of your Highness, and said that he 'remembered you very well.' When he had talked with me some time, he went to the queen, and as soon as I arrived, he made me kiss the hem of her Majesty's petticoat. The next day I saw the Princess of York (the Lady Anne), and I saluted her by kissing her, with the consent of the king. The day after, I went to visit Prince Robert, who received me in bed, for he has a malady in his leg, which makes him very often keep his bed. It appears that it is so, without any pretext, and he has to take care of himself. He had not failed of coming to

see me one day. All the lords come to see me, *sans pretendre le main chez moi*," (probably, rather meaning without ceremony, without kissing hands, as was the common custom in Germany, from inferiors to superiors, and still remains a custom in Southern Germany—than, as has been suggested, that "they came without venturing to shake hands with him.")

There is something melancholy in the idea of the fiery Rupert held ingloriously prostrate in bed by a sore leg; and there is a subject for a picture in the profligate little George, saluting the lips of the cold princess Anne. Cold, at all events, and deaf, if we were to judge by results, did the princess remain to the suit of the Hanoverian wooer. The suit, indeed, was not pressed by any sanction of the lady's father, who during the three months' of George Louis in England, remained in rather secluded state, at Holyrood. Neither was the suit opposed by James. In the seclusion to which he was condemned by Charles, who bade him take patience, a commodity much needed by himself, James was troubled but little touching the suitor of his daughter. He had personal troubles enough of his own wherewith to be concerned, and therewith sundry annoyances. On the Christmas day of this year, while George of Hanover was enjoying the festivities of this time, at the side of James's daughter, the students of King's College, Edinburgh, entertained James himself by a spectacle which must have raised a sardonic smile on his unusually sardonic face. Those young gentlemen burnt the Pope in effigy, in front of Holyrood House, and beneath the windows of the apartments occupied by James. Sir John Lauder apologizes for this rudeness by kindly explaining that "this was highly resented as an inhospitable affront to the Duke of York, though *it was only to his religion.*" As if an affront to what is so sacred, could be excused by an "only." But it was at a time when the actors at the "Théâtre Royal" in London were playing "the Female Prelate," and George Louis had a good opportunity of hearing in what rugged hexameters was told the story of Joanna Angelica. How the offended became the slighted mistress of the Duke of Saxony, vowed revenge, turned monk, became Pope, and after revenging

the injuries she had received from the Duke, as woman, condemned him to the stake for his blasphemies against her as Pope.

Among the "celebrations" of the visit of George Louis to this country, was the pomp of the ceremony which welcomed him to Cambridge. Never had the groves or stream of Cam been made vocal by the echoes of such laudation as was given and taken in this solemnly hilarious occasion. There was much feasting, which included very much drinking, and there was much expenditure of heavy compliment in very light Latin. Scaliger's assertion, that the Germans do not care what wine they drink, as long as it is wine, nor what Latin they speak, as long as it is Latin, is a calumny. They are nice connoisseurs of both. George and his trio of followers, who were made doctors of law by the scholastic authorities, were too polite to criticise either. The honor, however, was hardly more appropriate than when a similar one was conferred, in after years, upon Blucher and the celebrated artillery officer, Gneisenau. "Ah!" exclaimed the veteran leader, "they are going to make me a doctor; but it was Gneisenau that furnished all the pills."

That Parliament was convened at Oxford whereby there was, as Evelyn remarks, "great expectation of his Royal Highness's cause, as to the succession against which the house was set," and therewith there was, according to the same diarist, "an extraordinary, sharp, cold spring, not yet a leaf upon the trees, frost and snow lying while the whole nation was in the greatest ferment."—Such was the Parliament, and such the spring, when George Louis was suddenly called home. He was highly interested in the bill, which was read a first time at that Parliament, as also in the "expedients" which were proposed in lieu of such bill, and rejected. The expedients proposed instead of the Bill of Exclusion in this Parliament, were that the whole government, upon the death of Charles II., should be vested in a regent, who should be the Princess of Orange, and if she died without issue, then the Princess Anne should be regent. But if James, Duke of York, should have a son educated a Protestant, then the regency should last no longer than his minority, and that the regent should govern in the name of the father while he lived; but that he

should be obliged to reside five hundred miles from the British dominions; and if the Duke should return to these kingdoms, the crown should immediately devolve on the regent, and the Duke and his adherents be deemed guilty of high treason.

Here was matter in which the Hanoverian suitor was doubly interested both as man and as lover. However strenuously some writers may assert that the heads of the House of Brunswick troubled themselves in no wise upon the question of the succession, no one can deny, or doubt, that they had a deep, though, it may be as yet, a distant interest in it. Their concern was greater than their professed adherents will consent to acknowledge. Nor was there anything unnatural or unbecoming in such concern. The possible inheritance of even such a throne as that of England was in the days of Charles II., when Britain was treated with a contempt by other nations, which of right belonged only to her worthless sovereign—even a possible inheritance to even such a throne was not to be contemplated without emotion. An exclusive Protestant succession made such a heritage possible to the house of Brunswick, and if ever the heads of that house, before the object of their hopes was realized, ceased to be active for its realization, it was when assurance was made doubly sure, and action was unnecessary.

It is not easy to determine what part William of Orange had in the recall of George Louis from England, but the suddenness of that recall was an object of some admiring perplexity to a lover, who left a lady who was by no means inconsolable, and who, two years afterwards, was gaily married at St. James's to the Prince of Denmark, on the first leisure day between the executions of Russell and of Sidney.

George Louis, however, obeyed the summons of his sovereign and father, but it was not until his arrival in Hanover that he found himself called upon to transfer the prosecution of his matrimonial suit from one object to another. The ruling idea in the mind of Ernest Augustus was, that if the territory of Zell were united to that of Hanover, there would be an increased chance of procuring from the Emperor its elevation to an electorate; and he felt that, however he might have provided to secure his succession

to the dominion of Zell, the marriage of his son with the Duke's only child would add thereto many broad acres, the possession of which would add dignity to the Elector.

Sophia Dorothea was still little more than a child; but that very circumstance was made use of in order to procure the postponement of her marriage with Augustus of Wölfenbuttel. The Duke of Zell did not stand in need of much argument from his brother to understand that the union of the young lovers might more properly be celebrated when the bride was sixteen than a year earlier. The duke was ready to accept any reasoning, the object of which was to enable him to retain his daughter another year at his side. Accordingly, a betrothal only took place between Sophia and Augustus, and the public ceremony of marriage was deferred for a year and some supplementary months.

It was a time which was very actively employed by those who hoped to accomplish much before it had quite expired. Latimer remarks, that the devil is the only prelate he knew who is for ever busy in his diocese. He certainly was unweariedly occupied for a time in that portion of his see which is comprised in the narrow limits including Hanover and Zell. And it was an occupation in which that dark diocesan must have been especially delighted. The end of the action employed was to destroy the happiness of two young persons who were bound to each other by the strong bonds of respect and affection. A bad ambition was the impelling motive of such action. The devil, then, never had work which so exactly suited his satanic nature.

His ministers, however worthy they may have been of their master, as far as zeal was concerned, did him or themselves little credit with regard to the measure of their success. The sixteenth birth-day of Sophia Dorothea had arrived, and George Louis had made no impression on her heart, the image of the absent Augustus still lived there; and the whole plot would have failed, but for the sudden, and active, and efficient energy of one who seemed as if she had allowed matters to proceed to extremity, in order to exhibit the better her own powers when she condescended to interfere personally, and remedy the ill-success of others by a triumph of her own. That person was Sophia, the wife of Ernest, a lady

who rivalled Griselda in one point of her patience— that which she felt for her husband's infidelities. In other respects she was crafty, philosophical, and free-thinking; but she was as ambitious as any of her family, and as she had resolved on the marriage of her son, George Louis, with Sophia Dorothea, she at once proceeded to accomplish that upon which she had resolved.

It had suddenly come to her knowledge that Augustus of Wölfenbuttel had made his re-appearance at the Court of Zell. Coupling the knowledge of this fact with the remembrance that Sophia Dorothea was now sixteen years of age, and that at such a period her marriage had been fixed, the mother of George Louis addressed herself at once to the task of putting her son in the place of the favored lover. She ordered out the heavy coach and heavier Mecklenburg horses, by which German potentates were wont to travel stately and leisurely by post some two centuries ago. It was night when she left Hanover; and although she had not farther to travel than an ordinary train could now accomplish in an hour, it was broad daylight before this match-making and match-breaking lady reached the portals of the ducal palace of Zell.

There was something delightfully primitive in the method of her proceeding. She did not despise state, except on occasions when serious business was on hand. The present was such an occasion, and she therefore waited for no usher to marshal her way and announce her coming to the duke. She descended from her ponderous coach, pushed aside the sleepy sentinel, who appeared disposed to question her, ere he made way, and entering the hall of the mansion, loudly demanded of the few servants who came hurrying to meet her, to be conducted to the duke. It was intimated to her that he was then dressing, but that his Highness would soon be in a condition to descend and wait upon her.

Too impatient to tarry, and too eager to care for ceremony, she mounted the stairs, bade a groom of the chamber point out to her the door of the duke's room; and, her order having been obeyed, she forthwith pushed open the door, entered the apartment, and discovered the dismayed duke in the most *négligé* of *déshabilles*. She neither made apology nor would receive any; but intimating

that she came upon business, at once asked, "Where is your wife?" The flurried Duke of Zell pointed through an open door to a capacious bed in the adjacent room, wherein lay the wondering duchess, lost in eider-down and deep amazement.

The "old Sophia" could have wished, it would seem, that she had been further off. She was not quite rude enough to close the door, and so cut off all communication and listening; but remembering that the Duchess of Zell was but very indifferently acquainted with German, she ceased to speak in the language then common to the German courts—French,—and immediately addressed the duke in hard Teutonic phrase, which was utterly unintelligible to the vexed and suspecting duchess.

It was another group for an artist desirous to illustrate the byeways of history. Half undressed, the duke occupied a chair close to his toilet-table, while the astute wife of Ernest Augustus, seated near him, unfolded a narrative to which he listened with every moment an increase of complacency and conviction. The Duchess Eleanor, from her bed in the adjacent room, could see the actors, but could not comprehend the dialogue. But if the narrative was unintelligible to her, she could understand the drift of the argument; and as the names of her daughter and lover were being constantly pronounced with that of George Louis, the poor lady continued to lie helpless beneath much alarm and her silk counterpane.

The case was forcibly put by the mother of George. She showed how union makes strength, how little profit could arise from a match between Sophia Dorothea and Augustus of Wölfenbuttel, and how advantageous must be an union between the heir of Hanover and the heiress of the domains which her provident father had added to Zell, and had bequeathed to his daughter. She spoke of the certainty of Ernest Augustus being created arch-standard-bearer of the empire of Germany, and therewith Elector of Hanover. She hinted at the possibility even of Sophia Dorothea one day sharing with her son the throne of Great Britain. The hint, if really made, was something premature, but the astute lady *may* have strengthened her case by reminding her hearer that the crown of England would most probably be reserved only for a Protestant

succession, and that her son was, if a distant, yet not a very distant, and certainly a possible heir.

The obsequious Duke of Zell was bewildered by the visions of greatness presented to his mind's eye by his clever sister-in-law. He was as proud as the poor exiled Stanislaus, who entered his daughter's apartment on the morning he received the application of Louis XV. for her hand, with the salutation, "Good morning, my child! you are Queen of France;" and then he kissed the hand of Marie Leczinska,—the happy father, too happy to be the first to render homage to his daughter on her becoming, what he had ceased to be—a sovereign oppressed by responsibilities. The Duke of Zell was almost as eager to go and congratulate his daughter. With ready lack of honesty, he had consented to break off the match between Sophia Dorothea and her affianced lover, and to bestow her hand upon the careless prince for whom it was now demanded by his mother. The latter returned to Hanover perfectly satisfied with the work of that night and morning.

The same satisfaction was not experienced by the Duchess Eleanora. When she came to learn the facts, she burst forth in expressions of grief and indignation. The marriage which had now been definitively broken, had been with her an affair of the heart,—of a mother's heart. It had not been less an affair of the heart,—of a young girl's heart, with Sophia Dorothea; and the princely lover from Wölfenbuttel had invested as much heart in the matter as had ever been known in German times when minstrels sang of knights whose chivalry more than half consisted of fidelity in love. It was a pitiable case! There were three persons who were to be rendered irretrievably wretched, in order, not that any one might be rendered happy, but that a man, without a heart, might be made a little more spacious in the possession of dirt. The acres of Zell were to bring misery on their heiress, and every acre was to purchase its season of sorrow.

No entreaty could move the duke. In his dignity he forgot the father; and the prayers and tears of his child failed to touch the parent, who really loved her well, but whose affection was dissolved beneath the fiery heat of his ambition. He was singularly ambitious; for the possible effect of a marriage with George Louis was

merely to add his own independent duchy of Lunebourg to the dominions of Hanover. His daughter, moreover, detested her cousin, and his wife detested her sister-in-law;—above all, the newly accepted bridegroom, if he did not detest, had no shadow, nor affected to have any shadow, of respect, regard, or affection for the poor young victim who was to be flung to him with indecent and unnatural disregard of all her feelings as daughter and maiden.

The matter was urged onward by Sophia of Hanover; and in testimony of the freedom of inclination with which Sophia Dorothea acted on this marriage, she addressed a formal letter to the mother of her proposed husband, expressive of her obedience to the will of her father, and promissory of the same obedience to the requirements of her future mother-in-law. It is a mere formal document, proving nothing but that it was penned for the assumed writer by a cold-hearted inventor, and that the heart of the copier was far away from her words.

After a world of misery and mock wooing, crowded into a few months, the hateful and ill-omened marriage took place at Zell on the 21st of November, 1682. The bride was sixteen, the bridegroom twenty-two. There was quite enough on both sides to make happiness, if youth could establish felicity; but in this case the maiden, who was one of the fairest and most refined of German maidens, had neither heart nor regard for the youth, who was one of the least attractive in mind or person who could address himself to win a maiden's hand, which, on the present occasion, was the very last thing he thought of doing.

The marriage took place, as I have stated, on the 21st of November, 1682; a week after, Prince Rupert, who, for some time before had been sunning himself, a poor invalid, beneath the beeches at Windsor, died at his house in Spring Gardens (where he had resided for eight years)—as though the intelligence of the marriage had been too much for his worn-out spirit—or its shattered tabernacle.

Of the splendor which attended the ceremony, court historiographers wrote in loyal ecstacy and large folios, describing every character and dress, every incident and dish, every tableau and trait, with a minuteness almost inconceivable, and a weariness which

is saddening even to think of. They thought of everything but the heart of the principal personage in the ceremony—that of the bride. They could describe the superb lace which veiled it, and prate of its value and workmanship; but of the worth and woe of the heart which beat beneath it, these courtly historians knew no more than they did of honesty. Their flattery was of the grossest, but they had no comprehension of "the situation." To them all mortals were but as ballet-dancers and pantomimists, and if they were but bravely dressed, and picturesquely grouped, the describers thereof thought of nothing beyond.

The maker of this splendidly miserable marriage was proud of her achievement. She claims a word of description for herself, even though it be at the end of a chapter.

Chevreau, the friend of the Elector Palatine Charles Louis, the brother of Sophia, said of the Duchess of Hanover, "that in all France there exists no one of a more excellent wit than the Duchess Sophia;" and, as if to show that there were things in Germany as valuable as wit, he adds, "neither is there any one more deeply instructed in philosophical science than her sister, the Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia."

Sophia had been born in a school which sharpens wit. Her mother was the high-spirited daughter of a meanly-spirited king, who allowed her to marry as poor-spirited a prince. Elizabeth, daughter of James I., used to say to her rather provoking and not very Protestant mother, Anne of Denmark, that she would not be a Romanist to gain the most brilliant crown in the world. She was married to Frederick, the Elector Palatine, when the religious revolutions of the time called him to the newly-created throne of Bohemia, whereon his gallant wife would have held him, had she only, in return, been supported by her father. "Goody Palsgrave" was hardly a harsh nickname for such a consort as hers. He had nothing of the manly courage which looks misfortune steadily in the face, and strives to make it lead to ultimate success. He lost a kingdom, with tears in his eyes, like the Moor in Spain,—and thereupon submitted, yet with nothing of heroic patience, to destiny. So, he lost the young prince, Frederick Henry, his son, who was drowned in his sight,—calling to him for help. He could be-

wail the lot of his perishing boy, but even parental love could not nerve him to strike out boldly and save the sinking child. Like his misfortunes, his children were not few, but they were singularly unlike their father. His son, Charles Louis, perhaps, had some points of resemblance with his sire; but how unlike him was the fiery Rupert; how unlike, the "Grave Maurice," named so, not from his gravity, but from his rank. His daughters, too, partook more of their mother's mental qualities than of her husband's. Adversity, tribulation, flattery, or deception, worked in each—Elizabeth, Louisa, Henrietta, and Sophia—various results; but the mother's intellect was inherited by all, without all possessing the mother's virtues.

Whilst the mother was dwelling at the Hague, absent from the electoral court of her son, Sophia was the chosen companion, the solace, and the joy of the deep-thinking and wild-dreaming Elizabeth, her sister. The latter heard with some surprise, and still more indignation, that the heavy Duke of Brunswick, Ernest Augustus, had made an offer of marriage to the brilliant and light-hearted Sophia. The offer smacked of presumption, for Sophia was the daughter of a king, though but of a poor and brief-reigning monarch; whereas Ernest Augustus was but a duke, with large pride, but a very small estate, and not rich in expectations. No one could have guessed when he went a-wooing to the gay and intellectual Sophia, that he would ever be more than Duke of Brunswick and Bishop of Osnaburgh. It did not enter into popular speculation that he would ever be Duke of Brunswick and Elector of Hanover. On the other hand, speculation could hardly have imagined, in the year 1658, that the young Sophia would be the heiress of a throne, and the mother of a line of kings. Her own mother, the ex-Queen of Bohemia, decidedly looked upon the match as a *mésalliance*, but it was one of those which may be said, in more than in the popular and proverbial sense, to have been made in Heaven; for though it could not personally benefit the daughter of James I., it gave a crown to the grandchild of her who had so proudly declared that she would rather forfeit the most glorious crown on earth than retain it by the surrender of Protestantism. It was doubly right that in the Protestant child of such a

mother, the succession to the throne of these realms should have been fixed. We shall hear subsequently of the grand-daughter of Charles I., the Duchess of Savoy (subsequently Queen of Sardinia), protesting against such an arrangement. Her protest was not valid, only because it was not founded on the principles which were asserted by Elizabeth of Bohemia, and which influenced her daughter Sophia. The daughter of Charles the First's youngest daughter would fain have had the throne of England rendered accessible to herself and heirs, although Romanists, upon the poor understanding of toleration to the reformed faith. Our forefathers would have nothing to do with such compromise, and they who kept to the purer faith gained the splendid prize.

Sophia was married in 1658, and during a long course of subsequent years, she sustained the highest reputation for shrewdness, extensive knowledge, wit, acute observation, originality of conception, and brilliancy of expression. She had not, indeed, the stern steadiness of principle of her mother, and she was by far more ambitious, while she was less scrupulous as to the means employed for the attainment of her ends. Men of less information than herself were afraid of her, for she was fond of triumphing in argument. But she was previously well-armed for securing such triumphs, and the amount of knowledge which she had made her own, amid scenes and trials and dissipations little favorable to the amassing of such intellectual treasure, is accounted for by a remark of Leibnitz, with whom she loved to hold close intercourse,—to the effect that she was not only given to asking *why*, but that, as he quaintly puts it, she invariably wanted to know the *why* of the whys. In other words, she accepted no reasons that were not rendered strictly intelligible to her.

And then, she was as pretty as she was clever; without a tinge of pertness to spoil her beauty, or a trace of pedantry to mar her scholarship. If she loved to win logical battles by power of the latter, and fought boldly, eagerly, and with every sense awake to profit by the weakness of her adversary, it was all done gaily, and lightly; and if great wits were rolled over in the dust when they tilted against her in intellectual tournaments, they were ready to

acknowledge that they were struck down with a most consummate grace.

She as much enjoyed to see these battlings of brains between other parties, as to sustain the fight herself. When her sister Elizabeth had withdrawn from the world, and retired within the Protestant Abbey of Herford, to dream with the dreaming Labadie and his disciples over theories more baseless than dreams themselves, the gay Sophia once surprised her too grave sister with a visit. She brought in her train the ecclesiastical superintendent of Osnaburgh for the express purpose of "pitting" him against the prophet and reformer Labadie. Prince Charles, the son of Charles Louis (brother of Elizabeth and Sophia) and his tutor Paul Hackenburg, were witnesses or partakers in the intellectual skirmish. Hackenburg has left a graphic description of the onslaught between the orthodox Osnaburgher and the new apostle Labadie; at which Sophia assisted without uttering a remark, but not without giving evidence of much enjoyment. When all was over, says Paul, "during dinner we talked of nothing else but this absurd and quaking sort of piety to which people are sometimes brought, and our astonishment could hardly find words when, alluding to the number of young women of the best families, richly dressed, brilliant with beauty and youth, who were insane enough to give up the conduct of their souls to this worst of men and most powerless of priests (only to be laughed at too by him in secret), and who were so riveted to their delusions that neither the prayers of their parents, nor the pleadings of their betrothed, nor the prospect of maternal joys could tear them away; some among them said they were surely hypochondriacs and unanswerable for what they might do; others opined that they should all be sent to the baths of Schwalbach or Pyrmont, and that probably they would come back cured. All these remarks and discussions made the Princess Elizabeth highly indignant, and she exclaimed against the unkindness which could induce any one to ascribe to bodily infirmity a greater degree of piety wherewith the Holy Ghost chose to inspire a certain number of individuals purer than the rest! But to this the Electress Sophia, a lady of extraordinary beauty, found an answer which turned all bitterness into general mirth, by asserting,

with mock gravity, that her sister's sole reason for holding to the Labadists was that they were stingy housekeepers, and cost little or nothing to keep." Hackenburg says that the accusation was a true one, but it may be added that whatever the cost of this household, it never incurred debt, never allowed expenses to go beyond its means; and if the Lady of Hanover and her lord had always followed the same vulgar fashion, it would have been none the worse for their reputation and comfort, or for that perhaps of some of their descendants who might otherwise have profited by example.

Spittler, writing of Sophia and her husband, says, rather too panegyrically, perhaps:—"Through the complicated events of their troublous times, this princely pair are a sort of landmark whereon to rest the eye, and form a proof of how much good may be done by those who hold an exalted position. We must admire that really German intellectual enthusiasm which made them the friends of Leibnitz, that systematic firmness which characterized their government, and allied to ceaselessly active efforts for the public good, that untiring patience and longanimity so easy to learn in years of discouragement, and generally so easily forgotten when years of greater prosperity are reached." This is rather showing the principal characters in the drama under a flood of pink light, but there is much therein that is fairly applicable to the wife of Ernest Augustus.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HOUSEHOLD OF GEORGE AND SOPHIA.

ACCORDING to Pope, it was "to curse Pamela with her prayers" that the gods—

> "Gave the gilt coach and dappled Flanders mares,
> The shining robes, rich jewels, beds of state,
> And, to complete her bliss, a fool for mate.
> She glares in balls, front boxes, and the ring,
> A vain, unquiet, glitt'ring, wretched thing,
> Pride, pomp, and state but reach her outward part;
> She sighs, and is no duchess at her heart."

The greatness of Sophia Dorothea was no consequence of *her* prayers, and she was unlike the Poet's Pamela in all things, save that she had "a fool for mate," spent her time in sighs, and was indeed "no duchess at her heart." For a few months after her husband had taken her to Hanover, she experienced perhaps a less degree of unhappiness than was ever her lot subsequently. Her open and gentle nature won the regard even of Ernest Augustus. That is, he paid her as much regard as a man so coarsely minded as he was *could* feel for one of such true womanly dignity as his daughter-in-law.

His respect for her, however, may be best judged of by the companionship to which he sometimes subjected her. He more frequently saw her in society with the immoral Madame von Platen, than in the society of his own wife. The position of Sophia Dorothea with regard to this woman was not unlike that of Marie Antoinette at the Court of Louis XV. with regard to Madame du Barry. Poor Marie Antoinette was, in some degree, the worse conditioned of the two, for her own mother, the great Maria Theresa, held friendly intercourse with the king's "favorites," and did not hesitate, when she had a political purpose in view, to address them by letter in terms of familiarity, if not of endearment. By her own mother she was exposed to much indecent outrage. It was otherwise with Sophia Dorothea. Her mother deplored her marriage as a miserable event, simply because she was aware from the character of George Louis, that her husband would heap upon her nothing but insult and indignity. Ever after the separation of mother and daughter, the former seemed as one doomed to sit for ever beneath the shadow of a great sorrow. The first child of this marriage brought with him, however, some transitory promise of felicity. He was born at Hanover, on the 30th of October, 1683, and when his father conferred on him the names of George Augustus, he expressed pleasure at having an heir, and he even added some words of regard for the mother. But expression of regard is worth little unless its sincerity be proved by action. It was not so in the present case. The second child of this marriage was a daughter, born in 1684. She was that Sophia Dorothea who subsequently married the King of Prussia. In

tending these two children the mother found all the happiness she ever experienced during her married life. Soon after the birth of the daughter, George Louis openly neglected and openly exhibited his hatred of his wife. He lost no opportunity of irritating and outraging her, and she could not even walk through the rooms of the palace which she called her home, without encountering the abandoned female favorites of her husband, whose presence beneath such a roof was the uncleanest of pollutions and the most flagrant of outrages.

I have said that, in some respects, the position of Sophia Dorothea at Hanover was not unlike that of Marie Antoinette at Versailles. This similarity, however, is perhaps only to be discovered in the circumstance of both being subjected to the degradation of intercourse with women of little virtue but of large influence,—Marie Antoinette indeed, like Sophia Dorothea, married a prince who, at the best, contemplated his wife with supreme indifference, but there was this difference in their respective destinies as married women: Marie Antoinette gradually overcame her husband's want of regard, and he who had been the coldest of bridegrooms became, in after years, the most devoted of husbands and lovers. It was far otherwise with the wife of George Louis. The poor show of enforced ceremony beneath which, during the first year of his marriage, he hid his want of affection for a wife as gentle and good as she was fair and accomplished, was not maintained after that period. He did not even give himself the trouble to conceal from her his daily increasing aversion. She bore her fierce and bitter trial with calm dignity;—and she was further unlike Marie Antoinette in this respect, she was not "nearer her sex than her rank;" a pithy saying of Rivarolle's, which more correctly describes the wife of Louis XVI., than even Rivarolle himself either suspected or understood.

The prime mover of the hatred of George Louis for his consort was Madame von Platen, and this fact was hardly known to —certainly not allowed by—George Louis himself. There was one thing in which that individual had a fixed belief: his own sagacity and, it may be added, his own imaginary independence of outward influences. He *was* profound in some things, but, as

frequently happens with persons who fancy themselves deep in all, he was very shallow in many. The Dead Sea is said to be in most places fifteen hundred feet deep, but there are spots where the lead will find bottom at two fathoms. George Louis may be compared with that sea. It was often impossible to divine his purpose, but quite as often his thoughts were as clearly discernible as the pebbles in the bed of a transparent brook. Madame von Platen saw through him thoroughly, and she employed her discernment for the furtherance of her own detestable objects.

The man who hated Aristides because he was called the "just," was a man with whose feelings Madame von Platen could entertain sympathy. Sophia Dorothea had not merely contrived to win the good opinion of her mother-in-law, but the warm favor of Ernest Augustus. That grand potentate looked upon her as the Duchess of Burgundy of his court. She was only so inasmuch as she was affectionate and obliging. In most other respects it would be as correct to compare her with Pompadour as with the duchess, who won the regard and penetrated the secrets of the Grand Monarque, only to betray both.

The praise of his daughter-in-law was ever the theme which hung on the lips of Ernest Augustus, and such eulogy was as poison poured in the ears of Madame von Platen. She dreaded the loss of her own influence over the father of George Louis, and she fancied she might preserve it by destroying the happiness of the wife of his son. Her hatred of that poor lady had been increased by a circumstance with which she could not be connected, but which nearly concerned her mother the Duchess of Zell.

Ernest Augustus used occasionally to visit Madame von Platen at her own residence. He was an imitator of the way of life of Louis XIV.; and as that monarch more than once visited a "favorite" with a military escort attending him, trumpets heralding his passage, and his own queen dragged along in his train, so Ernest Angustus, with diminished state, but with more than enough of publicity, visited Madame von Platen. He was more inclined to conversation with her than with his prime minister, her husband; and she had wit enough, if not worth, to give warrant for such preference. Now and then, however, the ducal sovereign

would repair to pay his homage to the lady, without previous notice being forwarded of his coming; and it was on one of these occasions that, on arriving at the mansion, or in the gardens of the mansion of his minister's spouse, he found, not the lady of the house, who was absent, but her bright-eyed, ordinary-featured, and quick-witted handmaid, who bore a name which might have been given to such an official in Elizabethan plays, by Ford or Fletcher. Her name was "Use."

Ernest Augustus found the wit of Use much to his taste; and the delighted abigail was perfectly self-possessed, and more brilliant than common in the converse which she sustained for the pleasure of the sovereign, and her own expected profit. She had just, it is supposed, come to the point of some exquisitely epigrammatic tale, for the prince was laughing with his full heart, and her hand in his, and the 'tiring maiden was as radiant as successful wit and endeavor could make her, when Madame von Platen interrupted the sparkling colloquy by her more fiery presence. She affected to be overcome with indignation at the boldness of a menial who dared to make merry with a sovereign duke; and when poor Use had been rudely dismissed from the two presences —the one august and the other angry—Madame von Platen probably remonstrated with Ernest Augustus, respectfully or otherwise, upon his deplorable want of dignity and good taste.

But, to leave hypothesis for fact, we know that revenge certainly followed, whether remonstrance may or may not have been offered. Ernest Augustus went to sojourn for a time at one of his rural palaces, and he had no sooner left his capital than Madame von Platen committed the terrified Use to close imprisonment in the common jail. The history of little German Courts, as well as novels and dramas, in their illustrations of life, and in the mirror which they hold up to nature, assure us that this exercise and abuse of power were not at all uncommon with the "favorites" of German princes. Their word was "all potential as the duke's," and doubtless Madame von Platen's authority was as good warrant for a Hanoverian jailer to hold Use in custody, as if he had shut up that maid who offended by her wit, under the sign manual of Ernest Augustus himself.

Use was kept captive, and very scurvily treated, until Madame von Platen had resolved as to the further course which should be ultimately adopted towards her. She could bring no charge against her, save a pretended accusation of lightness of conduct, and immorality scandalous to Hanoverian decorum. Under this charge she had her old handmaid drummed out of the town; and if the elder Duchess Sophia heard the tap of the drums which accompanied the alleged culprit to the gates, we can only suppose that she would have expelled Madame von Platen to the same music. But, in the first place, the wives of princes were by no means so powerful as their favorites; and secondly, the friend of the philosophical Leibnitz was too much occupied with the sage to trouble herself with the affairs which gave concern to Madame von Platen.

The present affair, however, most nearly concerned poor Use, who found herself outside the city walls, friendless, penniless, with a damaged character, and nothing to cover it but the light costume which she had worn in the process of her march of expulsion to the roll of "dry drums." When she had found a refuge, her first course was to apply to Ernest Augustus for redress. The prince, however, was at once oblivious, ungrateful, and powerless; and confining himself to sending to the poor petitioner a paltry eleemosynary half-dozen of gold pieces, he forbade her return to Hanover, and counselled her to settle elsewhere, and congratulate herself that she had not received even rougher treatment.

Use, perhaps, would have quoted the Psalmist, who dissuades men from putting their trust in princes, but for the fact that she hoped, even yet, if not from a prince, to find succor from a princess. She accordingly made full statement of her case to the Duchess of Zell; and that lady, deeming the case one of peculiar hardship, and the penalty inflicted on a giddy girl too unmeasured for the pardonable offence of amusing an old prince who encouraged her to the task, after much consideration, due weighing of the statement, and befitting inquiry, took the offender into her own service, and gave to the exiled Hanoverian a refuge, asylum, and employment in Zell.

These are but small politics, but they illustrate the nature of

things as they then existed, in by-gone days, at little German courts. They had, moreover, no small influence on the happiness of Sophia Dorothea. Madame von Platen was enraged that the mother of that princess should have dared to give a home to one whom she had condemned to be homeless; and she in consequence is suspected of having been fired with the more satanic zeal to make desolate the home of the young wife. She adopted the most efficient means to arrive at such an end. It was the period when Sophia Dorothea had just become the mother of a daughter who bore her name, and who was subsequently Queen-consort of Prussia. It was from this period that George Louis openly treated his wife with contempt, and the evil genius by whom he was most influenced was Madame von Platen.

The first attempt to estrange him permanently from Sophia Dorothea was made through her sister, Madame von Busche. The latter lady, previous to her marriage with the tutor of George Louis, had endeavored with some slight success, to fascinate his pupil. She embraced with alacrity the mission with which she was charged, again to throw such meshes of fascination as she was possessed of around the heart of the not over susceptible prince. If endeavor could merit or achieve success, the attempt of this would-be charmer would have deserved, and would have accomplished, a triumph. But George Louis stolidly refused to be charmed, and Madame von Busche gave up the attempt in a sort of offended despair. Her sister, like a true genius, fertile in expedients, and prepared for every emergency, bethought herself of a simple circumstance, whereby she hoped to attain her ends. She remembered that George Louis, though short himself of stature, had a predilection for tall women. At the next fête at which he was present at the mansion of Madame von Platen, he was enchanted by a may-pole of a young lady, with a name almost as long as her person—it was Ermengarda Melusina von Schulemberg.

She was more shrewd than witty, this "tall mawkin," as the Electress Sophia once called the lofty Ermengarda; and, as George Louis was neither witty himself, nor much cared for wit in others, she was the better enabled to establish herself in the

most worthless of hearts that ever beat beneath an embroidered vest. She was an inimitable flatterer, and in this way she fooled her victim to "the very top of his bent." She exquisitely cajoled him, and with exquisite carelessness did he surrender himself to be cajoled. Gradually, by watching his inclinations, anticipating his wishes, admiring even his coarseness, and lauding it as candor, she so won upon the lazily excited feelings of George Louis, that he began to think her presence indispensable to his well-being. If he hunted, she was in the field, the nearest to his saddle-bow. If he went out to walk alone, he invariably fell in with Ermengarda. At the Court theatre, when *he* was present, the next conspicuous object was the towering von Schulemberg, like Mademoiselle Georges, "in all her diamonds," beneath the glare of which, and the blazing impudence of their wearer, the modest Sophia Dorothea was almost extinguished. Doubly authorized would she have been, as she looked at her unworthy husband, to have exclaimed, as Alfieri afterwards did in his autobiography:—

"O picciola cosa é pur l'uomo."

It is said of the robe originally worn by the prophet Mahomet, and reverently preserved at Mecca, that it was annually washed in a tub of clear water, which was subsequently duly bottled off and sent as holy water to the various princes of Islâm. A fashion alleged to have been adopted by Madame von Platen is recalled to memory by this matter of the prophet's robe.

That estimable person had announced a festival, to be celebrated at her mansion, which was to surpass in splendor anything that had ever been witnessed by the existing generation. The occasion was the marriage of her sister, Madame von Busche, who had worried the poor ex-tutor of George Louis into the grave, with General Wreyke, a gallant soldier, equal, it would seem, to any feat of daring. Whenever Madame von Platen designed to appear with more than ordinary brilliancy in her own person, she was accustomed to indulge in the extravagant luxury of a milk bath; and it *was* added by the satirical or the scandalous, that the milk which had thus lent softness to her skin was charitably dis-

tributed among the poor of the district wherein she occasionally affected to play the character of Dorcas.

Be this fable or not—and very strange things were done in the old-fashioned circles of Germany in those days—the fête and the giver of it were not only to be of a splendor that had never been equalled, but George Louis had promised to grace it with his presence, and had even pledged himself, to "walk a measure" with the irresistible Ermengarda Melusina von Schulemberg. Madame von Platen thought that her cup of joy and pride and revenge would be complete and full to the brim, if she could succeed in bringing Sophia Dorothea to the misery of witnessing a spectacle, the only true significance of which was that the faithless George Louis publicly acknowledged the gigantic Ermengarda for his "favorite."

There was more activity employed to encompass the desired end than if the aim in view had been one of good purpose. It so far succeeded that Sophia Dorothea intimated her intention of being present at the festival given by Madame von Platen; and when the latter lady received the desired and welcome intelligence, she was conscious of an enjoyment that seemed to her an antepast of Paradise.

The eventful night at length arrived. The bride had exchanged rings with the bridegroom, congratulations had been duly paid, and the floor was ready for the dancers, and nothing lacked but the presence of Sophia Dorothea. There walked the proudly eminent von Schulemberg, looking blandly down upon George Louis, who held her by the hand; and there stood the impatient von Platen, eager that the wife of that light-o'-love cavalier should arrive, and be crushed by the spectacle. Still she came not; and finally her lady of honor, the Countess von Knesebeck, arrived, not as her attendant, but her representative, with excuses for the non-appearance of her mistress, whom indisposition (unfeigned indisposition to be a witness of a suspected sight) detained at her own hearth.

The course of the festival was no longer delayed; in it the bride and bridegroom were forgotten, and George and Ermengarda were the hero and heroine of the hour. After that hour, no one doubted as to the bad eminence achieved by that lady; and so narrowly

and sharply observant was the lynx-eyed von Knesebeck of all that passed between her mistress' husband and that husband's mistress, that when she returned to her duties of *dame d'atours*, she unfolded a narrative that inflicted a stab in every phrase, and tore the heart of the despairing listener.

But court life in Germany was at this, as also at an earlier and till a later period, one of unmixed extravagance and viciousness. A few of the social traits of such life will be found in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V.

COURT LIFE IN GERMANY—THE ELECTORATE OF HANOVER.

THE extravagance of Madame von Platen, mentioned in the last chapter, was a reflex of that which made some of the sovereign courts of her day most sadly illustrious. Louis XIV. was not the only monarch guilty of impoverishing the people by living in a splendor which made his country bankrupt. The German courts needed not, and did not turn to France for a precedent of superb wickedness. The imperial household at Vienna was a high school, whereat the minor potentates of Germany might take degrees in extravagance and profligacy. Not less than forty thousand individuals were attached to the service of that house, and the licentious habits and coarse tone of the majority of these servants of the Emperor, from the noble to the lacquey, not only had an ill effect upon contemporary society, but may be said to be felt even now in Vienna; the most dissolute capital in Europe, where the aristocracy point in scorn to the citizens as abandoned to vice, and the citizens scowl at the aristocrary as the setters of bad example.

In the times of which I am treating, there was not the minutest count holding sovereignty over a few acres who did not maintain an ambassadorial establishment at Vienna, the expenses of which swallowed up a very considerable portion of the state represented. These legates of their lords, and often with their lords, and these lords' "ladies" in their company, were busily employed in the

imperial city in the solemn occupations of feasting, drinking, dancing, gazing at fireworks, and other business which will less bear mentioning. Two hogsheads of Tokay wine were daily consumed for soaking the bread which was given to the imperial parrots! The Empress' nightly possets required twelve gallons of the same wine. Not that the imperial appetite was equal to such consumption, but that the kitchen supplied that quantity to the household generally; for in the eighteenth century a German noble or his consort no more thought of going to sleep without the "sacramental" posset, than an English squire of the same period.

I have alluded in another page to the "protector" of the sister of Count Königsmark, Augustus the Strong,—strong in everything but virtue, and utterly worthless as man or monarch in all beside. His reign, after he became king of Poland, was a long course of brutal excess in every shape, and, in some cases, outraging nature as much as was done in the brutal excesses of Caligula. He left behind him three hundred and fifty-two children dependent on the state, but whose claims the state soon refused to recognize.

His extravagant taste exceeded that even of the masters of Vienna or Versailles. In honor of Maria Aurora Königsmark, the queen of the harem, and the only "favorite" of this crowned brute that ever retained in her bad eminence the refinement of character and conduct which had distinguished her before her elevation; in honor of this "favorite" he gave a festival on the Elbe, at which Neptune appeared in a sea-shell (in very shallow water,) surrounded by a fleet of frigates, gondolas, and gun-boats, all of true model dimensions, and manned by crews who might have sung in chorus the song from *La Promise*, "*ma veste, ma veste,*" so gay, glorious, glittering, and unseamanlike were they, in their satin jackets, their silk stockings, and their paste-diamond shoe-buckles.

Soldiers, or civilians in the masquerade of soldiers of all nations under the sun, and all splendidly attired, lined the banks of the river. The festival lasted throughout a long day, and when night set in, a huge allegorical picture, occupying six thousand yards, nearly four miles of canvas, was illuminated by blazing piles of odoriferous woods; and there was squandered that day, in honor

of a royal concubine, as much wealth as would have fed and clothed all the hungry and destitute in Dresden for a whole year.

Nor was this a solitary instance of the profligate extravagance of this monarch. On the occasion of a visit to his court by Frederick William of Prussia, and the Crown Prince, he expended five thousand dollars in porcelain vases for the adornment of their bedchambers, and gave them a gypsy party at Mühlberg, where the rural amusements of a few hours absorbed not less than three millions of dollars.

But Augustus delighted in monster fêtes, with all sorts of monster appliances; and one of these gigantic festivals is spoken of, at which a cake was placed before the guests twenty-eight feet long by twelve broad, the sides of which were cut into by a gaudy official, armed with a silver axe. Into the lap of one of his favorites, Augustus poured no less a sum than twenty millions of dollars. The fortunate recipient was the Countess von Kosel. He spent the same sum in welcoming to his dominions the daughter of the Emperor Joseph I., newly espoused to his son. The festivities were "stupendous," in character, duration, and extravagance. He met the bride with a whole army at his back to give her welcome; and a host, nearly as large, of courtiers, players, minstrels, and dancers, all exerting themselves in their several capacities to win a smile of approbation from the lady, who looked in melancholy on the show.

She must have been weary of it ere it was half over, for it dragged on, in gorgeous ponderosity, through a whole month. Day after day the festival was renewed, and there was more revelry in Dresden than there was in Babylon when Alexander entered it; and of much the same degree of uncleanness too. To crown the whole, Augustus and his court appeared in the guise of heathen deities; thus rivalling that Augustus of Rome and his friends, who sat down to the banquet, in the likeness of the gods and goddesses of Olympus,—less dignified, indeed, than they, but twice as beastly.

His conduct might fairly be described as that of a maniac, were it not for one circumstance. He flung gold about with a reckless prodigality that betokened insanity, but it must be remembered, that, at the very period of his doing so, he entertained the convic-

tion, that he was on the point of tearing the veil before the great arcanum of chemistry, mastering the knowledge connected with the transmutation of metals, and becoming the maker of gold, to an extent limited only by his necessities.

For this purpose he maintained an alchemist in his palace. The professional gentleman, so calling himself, was right royally lodged as regarded his person, and right profusely provided as respected his vocation. His apartments were furnished with a splendor that might have dazzled an emperor, and his laboratory was a glittering chaos of costly vessels, means, and appliances,—such as befitted the arch-deceiver of a king foolish enough to be deceived.

The experiments were being carried on while Augustus was as insanely experimenting on the patience of his people. The alchemist, however, soon encountered a swifter and more hideous ruin than ultimately fell upon the head of Augustus himself. His patron became impatient, and more exacting than ever; the magician more tricky, more boastful of success, and less satisfactory in realization of his boasting. His specimens were pronounced counterfeit, his gold was scornfully rejected by the goldsmiths of the capital, and, detected as a cheat, he was beheaded by the order of him who had hoped to profit by his address.

Dresden is yet strewn with the gorgeous wrecks of the profligate reign of Augustus. The "Green Vaults" of the palace, crowded as they are with gems and jewellery, and rich metals wrought into grotesque figures; the huge ostrich cups, the gigantic pearls, the musical clocks, and toys and trifles, for which a "king's ransom" was less than the purchase money, should awake in the mind of the beholder not so much of admiration for the collection, as of disgust and amazement at the thoughtless extravagance of him who acquired it with the money entrusted to his dishonest stewardship. If the memory of Augustus the Strong can ever be dwelt upon with any measure of respect, it is perhaps when the visitor at Dresden contemplates the gallery of pictures there, of which he was the founder. In his profligate expenditure he had a worthy imitator in Count Brühl, the minister of his indolent son and successor, Augustus III. His wardrobe could have supplied half the great families in Europe with costumes; his col-

lection of embroidered shoes was a sight for all Saxony; and his museum of Parisian wigs, arranged in chronological order, was the pride of all the *petit-maitres* who were curious in peruques.

The court of Bavaria at the beginning of the last century set no better example to the people, on whose love and allegiance it made a claim that was but scurvily reverenced. The little and delicate electress, Maria Amelia, had the propensities of a gigantic *roué*. She was delicate only in person, not in mind; but mind and body were similarly "little" in other respects. She was an excellent shot, followed the chase with the zest of the keenest sportsman, and would toil half the day, across ridge and furrow, or up to her knees in mud, in pursuit of the game among which she made such deadly havoc. At these times, and often when the occasion was not warrant for the fashion, she appeared in public in male attire, generally of green cloth, her brilliant complexion heightened by a brilliantly powdered white peruque. She loved dogs as well as she did men, rather better perhaps on the whole; and was never more pleased than when she dined in no better company than with a dozen of these canine favorites, whose unceremonious clearing of the dishes, before their hostess could help herself, only excited her hearty laughter.

There were occasions, however, on which she was given to anything rather than laughter, and chiefly when she encountered the favorites of her husband. On these she had no mercy; and her dog-whip was more than once applied to the shoulders of shameless rivals,—which had perhaps better have been applied to those of the unworthy husband, on whose smiles and hard gold they lived in splendid infamy.

Other German courts were marked and disgraced by scenes of similar profligacy; and that of Hanover forms no exception, although it ceased sooner than the others to be so distinguished. This desirable consummation was not a result of greater cleanliness of manner, but of a transportation of the uncleanness to another locality; and the court of Hanover no longer presented an evil example to the people, because at a later period George I., the unworthy husband of Sophia Dorothea, removed in 1714,

"with all his mistresses," to this, the favored country, which was hardly grateful for the acquisition.

The lack of gratitude was made manifest enough by the reply of "First Citizen," in a dramatic tumult in the street raised by the arrogance of these women. "Worthy folks!" said one of them in broken English, "we come here for all your goods,"—"Yes!" roared "First Citizen," "and for all our chattels too," a remark not far from the truth; for the mistresses of the first two Georges were supported out of the funds raised by taxation of the people. But we are anticipating events.

The ecclesiastical princes were not a jot behind their secular highnesses in glaring infamy of conduct. They scorned and outraged public opinion, as they did the laws against clerical luxury and immorality enacted by the Council of Trent. The debauchery and profligacy of the higher orders of the priesthood (mostly sons of princely families) were appalling. An instance of their unseemliness of conduct has been cited from Dlucos' Memoirs, wherein mention is made of a want of decency manifested by the Prince Archbishop of Cologne, when that electoral dignitary was sojourning at Versailles. He gave notice that he would preach in the Royal Chapel on the 1st of April, when a large and august auditory assembled to do honor to the occasion. The preacher, we are told, ascended the pulpit, and bowed gravely to the audience; then shouting, "April fools all!" he ran down the stairs amidst the laughter of the court, and the clang of horns, trumpets, and kettle-drums.

It was a strange time, when men were allowed to have their particular views, and women their peculiar faults, without much censure resulting, provided they respected certain limits. In this they were like the pagans, among whom a woman might swear for ever by Castor, and a man only by Hercules, while *Ædepol* was an execratory phrase common to both.

Among the instances of German social life in the higher classes at this period, may be cited the case of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who, driven out of his dukedom by the hatred of his oppressed subjects, took up his residence in Paris, about the year 1672. The duke had been married to a Protestant princess, of

whom growing weary, he divorced himself from her, for no other reason than that he had seen a Catholic princess who pleased him, for the moment, better than his own wife. He married this second lady, after first making public profession of his conversion to the Church of Rome. Not a very long period had elapsed before he became more weary of the new love than he had ever been of the old. He was as tired of the faith, by accepting which he had gained the lady; and in an affected horror of having committed some terrible sin, he immediately set about procuring a divorce. It was no difficult matter; and no less a man, judge and philosopher, than the great "Leibnitz," less influenced, it is said, by a desire to disarm his foe than by certain juristic sophistries, decided in favor of the divorce, in violation of all law, and to the ineffable disgust of all honest men.

But if princes and people were forgetful of duty, it was, perhaps, in part at least, because their teachers, priests and philosophers either failed to instruct them, or neglected to make example add double force to precept. There was no man in Hanover so honored as this Leibnitz; but he was honored more for his intellectual than his moral worth. There had been no more unreserved eulogist and flatterer of Louis XIV. than he, but at the bidding of Ernest Augustus, who had acquired reputation as patriot and general by the share he had taken in the war against France, Leibnitz attacked the *Grand Monarque* in a satirical pamphlet, entitled "The Most Christian Mars," in which he miserably succeeded in showing how wittily a clever man might argue against his own convictions.

The father-in-law of Sophia Dorothea deserves to have it said of him that, however immoral a man he may have been, he was a more honest man than Leibnitz. When Ernest Augustus was aspiring to the Electorate, and the Emperor was as desirous to form an united empire of amalgamated Catholics and Protestants, Leibnitz, to further the duke's purpose, wrote a pamphlet on the points of difference between the two churches, and on the principles which should form the basis and the bonds of a common religion and a common church. The Protestant philosopher preferred to publish this pamphlet anonymously, as the author of it so framed his argu-

ments as to let his readers suppose that he was a Catholic. The duke refused to sanction this dishonesty, and the pamphlet was not published until after the author's death. It appeared as the "Theological System" of Leibnitz, and there was not an argument in it which was the result of that author's conviction. It was the boast of this philosopher, that he was *autodidactos*,—self-taught. As pupil, it must be confessed, that he sometimes had but a very indifferent preceptor.

While on the subject of social traits of the period, I may not inaptly notice one in England. I have already observed, that on the arrival of George Louis in England, to ask for the hand of the Princess Anne, he was indebted to his gouty, and still fiery uncle, Rupert, for some attentions. In 1683, the gallant prince died too poor to leave wherewith to pay his debts. A plan was accordingly proposed, whereby the necessary sum was to be raised by the disposing of the prince's jewels by lottery. There had, however, been so much cheating practised in matters of this sort, that the public would take no shares in this particular and princely lottery, unless the king himself would guarantee that all should be conducted fairly and honestly, and also that Mr. Francis Child, the then eminent goldsmith and banker of Temple Bar, should be responsible for the "respection adventures;" that is, the genuineness of the tickets. This stipulation proposed by the public, appears to have been accepted by the government, for in the London Gazette of October 1, 1683, there is an advertisement, which runs as follows:—"These are to give notice, that the jewels of his late royal highness, Prince Rupert, have been particularly valued by Mr. Isaac Legouche, Mr. Christopher Rosse, and Mr. Richard Beauvoir, jewellers,—the whole amounting to twenty thousand pounds, and will be sold by way of lottery; each lot to be five pounds. The biggest prize will be a great pearl necklace, valued at 3,000*l.*, and none less than 100*l.* A printed particular of each appraisement, with their divisions into lots, will be delivered gratis by Mr. Francis Child, of Temple Bar, London, into whose hands, such as are willing to be adventurers, are desired to pay their money, on or before the 1st day of November next. As soon as the whole sum is paid in, a short day will be appointed (which, it is hoped, will be before

Christmas,) and notified in the Gazette, for the drawing thereof, which will be done in his Majesty's presence, who is pleased to declare that he himself will see all the prizes put in among the blanks, and that the whole will be managed with equity and fairness, nothing being intended but the sale of the said jewels at a moderate value. And it is further notified, for the satisfaction of all as shall be adventurers, that the said Mr. Child shall and will stand obliged to each of them for their several adventures; and that each adventurer shall receive their *(sic)* money back, if the said lottery be not drawn and finished before the first day of February next." At a later period, the Gazette announces, that "the king will probably, to-morrow, in the Banqueting House, see all the blanks told over, that they may not exceed their number, and that the papers on which the prizes are to be written shall be rolled up in his presence, and that a child, appointed either by his Majesty or the adventurers, shall draw the prizes." If the king had never done worse than to preside at the drawing of a lottery for the payment of the debts of his cousin, the uncle of George Louis, we might say that he was undignified, but not that he was, as he *really* was, ignoble and graceless; more refined, perhaps, but not less debauched, than Augustus of Saxony.

But, to return finally to Hanover: while Sophia Dorothea was daily growing more unhappy, her father-in-law was growing more ambitious, and the prospects of her husband more brilliant. The younger branch of Brunswick was outstripping the elder in dignity, and not merely an electoral but a kingly crown seemed the prize they were destined to attain. A few brief paragraphs will serve to show how this was effected, before we once more take up the personal history of Sophia Dorothea.

Whatever opinion may be formed with respect to the opinions and feelings of the Hanover family in reference to its being recognized in the line of legal succession to the Crown of England, it is pretty well ascertained, that Burnet was the first, and probably not without being commissioned to the task, who seriously opened the subject with the family, and that through the Hanoverian minister at the Hague. Burnet, in 1686, was residing at the latter place, the friend and agent of William of Orange, and one of the most ac-

tive adversaries of James II., whose aversion and perhaps dread of that busy ecclesiastic were not without foundation.

In the year 1686, the Hanoverian minister at the Hague was acting in strict obedience to the orders of his master, Ernest Augustus, by rather supporting than opposing the ambitious views of France. Louis XIV. had so degraded England as to make Charles II. his pensionary, and the French monarch now looked upon James as his ally, ready to follow whithersoever the King of France was disposed to lead the way. The union of these two Roman Catholic monarchs, if carried out to the ends contemplated by them, threatened both the religious and civil liberties of every country over which their influence could be made to extend. It was especially threatening to the princes of the Protestant faith, and particularly so to Holland. To destroy this union would be not only to rescue Holland from the perils which threatened her, but would perhaps open the throne of England to a Protestant prince. This prince could not be looked for in the line of Charles I., for the children of his daughter, the Duchess of Orleans, were Romanists, whereas, failing other branches of the family, the probable nature of which failure has already been adverted to; the line which might hope to inherit the crown was to be found in the immediate descendants of James I., through his daughter, Elizabeth, the Queen of Bohemia, whose daughter Sophia was married to Ernest Augustus of Hanover.

When Burnet found the minister of the latter prince offending the States-General of Holland by his tacit support of the views of France, he at once saw the false position of the minister who was acting in obedience to the instructions of his master, but in opposition to his own sentiments. It was no difficult task for Burnet to prove to this diplomatist, that by supporting the views of France he was destroying the prospects of Hanover; whereas if it was his desire to promote the influence and glory, and to elevate the fortunes of the latter house, his course was clear, simple, patriotic, and profitable. Opposition to France, on the part of Hanover, would be popularly acknowledged with something more than empty gratitude in England, and the time might come when such opposition

would receive as splendid a recompense as prince or patriot could desire.

It is easy to believe that William approved of a communication of such a nature made, as Burnet protests, without being otherwise than self-prompted thereto. The immediate result would be, to secure an ally for Holland, and William might safely leave ulterior contingencies to Providence and time.

However this may be, it is certain that Burnet was eminently successful in his object with the Hanoverian minister. The latter appears not only to have communicated what passed to his sovereign, but to have added comments thereto which carried conviction to the mind of Ernest Augustus. This conviction is seen by the result which followed. Hanover, in 1688, ranged herself with the European coalition, that is, with England, Holland, and the German Empire, against France.

There was true "definite policy" in this act. Ernest Augustus was bound indeed to supply a contingent to the Emperor whenever the latter might call for such aid in behalf of the empire; but he was not satisfied with this alone; his own territory was not threatened, and it was too far away from the stage whereon the great drama was being played, or was about to be played out, to give him fears concerning the inviolability of his frontier. He acted, however, as though he had as fierce a quarrel with Louis as the more powerful belligerents opposed to that monarch. He recalled his minister from Paris, gave passports to the French ambassador at Hanover, and in short, played his grand *coup* for an electorate *now*, and a throne in futurity.

To be elevated to the electorate had certainly been long the dearest among the more immediate objects of his ambition. When his elder brother John Frederick died childless, and left him the principalities of Calemberg and Grubenberg, with Hanover for a "residenz," he hailed an increase of influence which he hoped to see heightened by securing the Duchy of Zell also to his family. He had determined that George Louis should succeed to Hanover and Zell united. In other words, he established primogeniture, recognized his eldest son as heir to all his land, and only awarded to his other sons moderate appendages whereby to support a dig-

nity which he considered sufficiently splendid by the glory which it would receive, by reflection, from the head of the house.

This arrangement by no means suited the views of one of Ernest's sons, Maximilian. He had no inclination whatever to borrow glory from the better fortune of his brother, and was resolved, if it might be, to achieve splendor by his own. He protested loudly against the accumulation of the family territorial estates upon the eldest heir; claimed his own share; and even raised a species of domestic rebellion against his sire, to which weight, without peril, was given by the adhesion of a couple of confederates, Count Mölcke, and a conspirator of burgher degree.

Ernest Augustus treated "Max" like a rude child. He put him under arrest in the paternal palace, and confined the filial rebel to the mild imprisonment of his own room. Maximilian was as obstinate as either Henry the Dog, or Marcus the Violent, and he not only opposed his sire's wishes with respect to the aggrandizement of the family by the enriching of the heir-apparent, but went counter to him in matters of religion, and in after years was not only a good Jacobite, but he also conformed to the faith of the Stuarts, and Maximilian ultimately died, a tolerable Catholic, in the service of the Emperor.

In the meanwhile, his domestic antagonism against his father was not productive of much inconvenience to himself. His arrest was soon raised, and he was restored to freedom, though not to favor or affection. It went harder with his friend and confederate Count Mölcke, against whom, as nothing could be proved, much was invented. An absurd story was coined to the effect that at the time when Maximilian was opposing his father's projects, the Count Mölcke, at a court entertainment, had presented his snuff-box to Ernest Augustus. That illustrious individual having taken therefrom the pungent tribute respectfully offered, presented the same to an Italian greyhound which lay at his feet, who thereon suddenly sneezed, and swiftly died. The count was sent into close arrest, and the courtly gossips forged the story to account for the result. The unfortunate Mölcke was indeed as severely punished as though he had been a murderer by anticipation. He was judged in something of the old Jedburgh fashion, whereby execution pre-

ceded judgment; and the head of Count Mölcke had fallen before men could well guess why he had forfeited it. The fact was that this peralty had been exacted as a vicarious infliction on Prince Maximilian. In old-fashioned courts in England there used to be a whipping-boy who received castigation whenever the young princes of the royal family behaved ill. The latter, in the agony of the actual victim, were supposed to be able to understand what their own deserts were, and what their sufferings would have been, had not their persons been far too sacred to endure chastisement for their faults. The more ignoble plotter was only banished, and in the death of a friend, and the exile of a follower, Maximilian, it was hoped, would see a double suggestion from which he would draw a healthy conclusion. This course had its desired effect. The disinherited heir accepted his ill-fortune with a humor of the same quality, and, openly at least, he ceased to be a trouble to his more ambitious than affectionate father.

Domestic rebellion having been thus suppressed or got rid of, Ernest Augustus looked to the Emperor for the reward of his ready alacrity in supporting the imperial house. It was not without much trouble and vexation that the desired end was achieved. The sacred college opposed the aim of the sovereign of Hanover, but the Emperor, of his own accord, made Ernest Augustus an elector; and the 19th December, 1691, was the joyful day of nomination.

The day, however, was anything but one of joy to the branch of Brunswick-Wölfenbuttel. That elder branch felt itself dishonored by the august dignity which had been conferred upon the younger scion of the family. The hatred which ensued between the kinsmen was of that intensity which is said to distinguish the mutual hate of kinsmen above all others. The elder branch, and the sacred college with it, affirmed that the Emperor was invested with no prerogative by which he could, of his own spontaneous act, add a ninth elector to the eight already existing. Originally there were but seven, and the accession of one more to that time-honored number was pronounced to be an innovation by which ill-fortune must ensue. Something still more deplorable was vaticin-

ated as the terrible consequence of an illegal step so peremptorily taken by the Emperor, in despite of the other electors.

It was said by the supporters of the Emperor and Hanover that the addition of a ninth, and Protestant elector was the more necessary; that there were only two electors on the sacred roll who now followed the faith of the Reformed Church; and that the sincerity of one, at least, of these was very questionable. The reformed states of Germany had a right to be properly represented, and the Emperor was worthy of all praise for respecting this right. With regard to the nomination, it was stated that though it had been made spontaneously by the Emperor, it had been confirmed by the Electoral College,—a majority of the number of which had carried the election of the Emperor's candidate.

Now, this last point was the weak point of the Hanoverians; for it was asserted by many adversaries, and not denied by many supporters, that in such a case as this, no vote of the Electoral College was good unless it were an unanimous vote. To this objection, strongly urged by the elder branch of Brunswick-Wölfenbuttel, no answer was made, except indeed by praising the new elector, of whom it was correctly stated that he had introduced into his states such a taste for masquerades, operas, and ballets, as had never been known before; and that he had made a merry and a prosperous people of what had been previously but a dull nation, as regarded both manners and commerce. The Emperor only thought of the good service which Ernest Augustus had rendered him in the field, and he stood by the "accomplished fact" of which he was the chief author.

The college was to the full as obstinate, and would not recognize any vote tendered by the Elector of Hanover, or of Brunswick, as he was at first called. Ernest Augustus sat in the college, as our Bishop of Sodor and Man is said to have done, in the olden time, in the House of Lords, where a seat was prepared for the prelate, which he was allowed to occupy on condition that he had no voice in the proceedings. For nearly sixteen years was this opposition carried on. At length, on the 30th of June, 1708, this affair of the ninth electorate was adjusted, and the three colleges of the empire resolved to admit the Elector of Hanover to sit *and* vote in the

Electoral College. In the same month he was made general of the imperial troops, then assembled in the vicinity of the Upper Rhine.

His original selection by the Emperor had much reference to his military services. The efforts of Louis XIV. to get possession of the Palatinate, after the death of the Palatine Louis, had caused the formation of the German confederacy to resist the aggression of France,—an aggression which was not finally overcome till the day when Marlborough defeated Tallard, at Blenheim. Louis was hurried into the war by his minister Louvois, who was annoyed by his interference at home in matters connected with Louvois's department. It was to make the confederation more firm and united that Ernest Augustus was created, rather than elected, a ninth elector. The three Protestant electors were those of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Hanover; the three Catholic, Bohemia, Bavaria, and the Palatinate; and the three spiritual electors, the Prince Archbishops of Metz, Treves, and Cologne. The original number of electors was seven, and their office, according to Schiller, was to encircle the ruler of the world (the Emperor) as the company of stars surround the sun:—

> Und alle die Wähler, die Sieben
> Wie der Sterner Chor um die Sonne sich stellt,
> Umstanden geschäftig die Herrscher der Welt,
> Der Würde des Amtes zu üben.

In the battle-field they stood with their colors round the imperial standard, "like Iris with all her seven." Their efforts against France were not at first marked by success. Marshal Luxembourg routed the Dutch General Waldeck, and in 1691 Namur was carried by storm, and Liège bombarded. In the following year William III. was defeated at Steinkirk, where the husband of Sophia Dorothea served under him, and learned how great a general may be under defeat;—a retreat was never conducted in more masterly style. The castle of Heidelberg, the birth-place of the Electress Sophia was, at the same period, blown into ruins by the French; and in 1697 the peace of Ryswick humiliated the allies, and gave breathing time to the King of

France to frame new projects, which were ultimately foiled by the triumphant sword of Marlborough. But this is anticipating.

The history of the creation of the ninth electorate would not be complete without citing what is said in respect thereof by the author of a pamphlet suppressed by the Hanoverian government, and entitled "Impeachment of the Ministry of Count Munster." It is to this effect. "During the war between Leopold I. and France, at the close of the 17th century, Ernest Augustus, Duke of Brunswick, and administrator of Osnabrück, father of George I., had been paid a considerable sum of money on condition of aiding the French monarch with ten thousand troops—the Emperor, aware of the engagement, and anxious to prevent the junction of these forces with the enemy, proposed to create a ninth electorate, in favor of the Duke, provided he brought his levies to the imperial banner. The degrading offer was accepted, and the envoys of Brunswick-Luneberg received the electoral cap, the symbol of their master's dishonor, at Vienna, on the 19th December, 1692. From the opposition of the college and princes, Ernest was never more than nominally an elector, and even his son's nomination was with difficulty accomplished in 1710. It was in connection with this new dignity that Hanover, a name till then applied only to a principal and almost independent city of the Dukedom of Brunswick, became known in the list of European sovereignties.

CHAPTER VI.

THE KÖNIGSMARKS.

HAVING briefly traced the outline of the history regarding the elevation of the Court of Hanover to the rank of an electoral court, I must beg permission to continue for a short space more to be episodical, in order to trace the career of an individual whose residence at that Court brought death, dishonor, and destruction in his train.

I have before noticed the circumstance of the sojourn of a Count Königsmark at Zell, during the childhood of Sophia Doro-

thea. The family of the Königsmarks was originally of the Mark of Brandenburgh, but a chief of the family settled in Sweden, and the name carried lustre with it into more than one country. In the army, the cabinet, and the church, the Königsmarks had representatives of whom they might be proud; and generals, statesmen, and prince-bishops, all laboring with glory in their respective departments, sustained the high reputation of this once celebrated name. From the period, early in the 17th century, that the first Königsmark (Count John Christopher) withdrew from the imperial service and joined that of Sweden, the men of that house devoted themselves, almost exclusively, to the profession of arms. This Count John is especially famous as the subduer of Prague, in 1648, at the end of the Thirty Years' War. Of all the costly booty which he carried with him from that city, none has continued to be so well cared-for, by the Swedes, as the silver book, containing the Mœso-Gothic Gospels of Bishop Ulphilas, still with pride preserved at learned Upsal.

John Christopher was the father of two sons. Otho William, a marshal of France, a valued friend of Charles XII., and a gallant servant of the state of Venice, whose government honored his tomb with an inscription *Semper Victori*, was the younger. He was pious as well as brave, and he enriched German literature with a collection of very fervid and spiritual hymns. The other, and the older son, was Conrad Christopher. The last name was almost as common an appellation in the family of Königsmark as those of Timoleon Cossé in the family of Brissac. Conrad Christopher was killed in the year 1673, when fighting on the Dutch and imperial side, at the siege of Bonn. He left four children, three of whom became at once famous and infamous. His sons were Charles John and Philip Christopher. His daughters were Maria Aurora (mother of the famous Maurice of Saxony), and Amelia Wilhelmina, who was fortunate enough to achieve happiness without being celebrated, and who, if she has not been talked of beyond her own Swedish fireside, passed there a life of as calm felicity as she and her husband, Charles von Loewenhauft, could enjoy when they had relations so celebrated, and so troublesome, as Counts Charles John, and Philip Christopher, and the Countess

Maria Aurora, the "favorite" of Augustus of Poland, and the only royal concubine, perhaps, who almost deserved as much respect as though she had won her greatness by a legitimate process.

It was this Philip Christopher who was, for a brief season, the playfellow of Sophia Dorothea, in the young days of both, in the quiet gardens and galleries of Zell. It is only told of him that, after his departure from Zell, he sojourned with various members of his family, travelled with them, and returned at intervals to reside with his mother, Maria Christina, of the German family of Wrangle, who unhappily survived long enough to be acquainted with the crimes as well as misfortunes of three of her children.

In the year 1682, Philip Christopher was in England. The elder brother, who had more than once been a visitor to this country, and a welcome, because a witty, one at the Court of Charles II., had brought his younger brother hither, in order to have him instructed more completely in the tenets of the Protestant religion, and to ultimately place him at Oxford. In the meantime he placed him in a very singular locality for a theological student. He lodged him with a "governor," at the riding academy, in the Haymarket, of that Major Foubert, whose second establishment, where he taught the young to witch the world with noble horsemanship, is still commemorated by the passage out of Regent-street, which bears the name of the French Protestant refugee and professor of equestrianism.

The elder brother of these two Königsmarks was a superb scoundrel, and I have no more faith in his professed zeal for Philip Christopher's religion than he had in the truth which Philip was to be taught, after he had learned to ride. He had led a roving and adventurous life, and was in England when not more than fifteen years of age, in the year 1674. During the next half dozen years he had rendered the ladies of the Court of France ecstatic at his impudence, and had won golden opinions from the "marine knights" of Malta, whom he had accompanied on a "caravane," or cruise, against the Turks, wherein he took hard blows cheerfully, and had well-nigh been drowned by his impetuous gallantry. At some of the Courts of southern Europe he appeared with an eclat which made the men hate and envy him;

but no where did he produce more effect than at Madrid, where he appeared at the period of the festivities held to celebrate the marriage of Charles II. with Maria Louisa, of Orleans, daughter of that Henrietta Maria, who was the youngest child of our Charles I., born at Exeter, never beheld by her sire, and murdered, it is feared, by the connivance of her husband, the Duke of Orleans, as her daughter this Maria Louisa was, by the negligence or connivance of *her* consort.

The marriage of the last-named august pair was followed by the fiercest and the finest bull-fights, symbolic of Spanish royal unions, that had ever been witnessed in Spain. At one of these, Charles John made himself the champion of a lady, fought in her honor in the arena, with the wildest bull of the company, and got dreadfully mauled for his pains. His horse was slain, and he himself, staggering and faint, and blind with loss of blood and with deep wounds, had finally only strength enough left to pass his sword into the neck of the other brute, his antagonist, and to be carried half-dead and quite senseless out of the arena, amid the fierce approbation of the gentle ladies, who purred applause, like satisfied tigresses, upon the unconscious hero.

In 1681, at the mature age of twenty-two, master of all manly vices, and ready for any adventure, he was once more in England, where he seized the opportunity afforded him by the times and their events, and hastened to join the expedition against Tangier. He behaved like a young hero, and with his appetite for sanguinary adventure whetted by what he had tasted, on the conclusion of the warm affair at Tangier, he went as an amateur against the Algerines, and without commission, inflicting on them and their "uncle" (as the word *Dey* implies,) as much injury as though he had been chartered general at the head of a destroying host. When he returned to England at the conclusion of this season of adventure, he was received amid those who love adventurers, with a peculiar delight. That he was a foreign adventurer, then as now, only increased his attraction; and, from the king downwards, "polite" people, as the aristocracy rudely styled itself, with mendacious exclusiveness, received Count Charles John with enthusiasm. His handsome face, his long flaxen hair, his stupendous perriwig for

state occasions, and the boy's ineffable impudence, made him the delight of the impudent people of those impudent times.

Now, of all those people, the supercilious Charles John cared but for one, and she, there is reason to believe, knew little and cared less for this presuming lad of the house of Königsmark.

All the wisdom and science of John Locke, the physician of the last of the Percys, could not save from death, at the age of twenty-six, Joscelyn, eleventh Earl of Northumberland, who died in the year 1670;—the last of the male line of his house.

He left an only daughter, four years of age, named Elizabeth. Her father's death made her the possessor,—awaiting her majority, of vast wealth, to which increase was made by succession to other inheritances. Her widowed mother married Ralph Montague, English ambassador in Paris, builder of the "Montague" houses, which occupied successively the site of the present British Museum, and finally husband, after the death of the widow of Percy, of the mad Duchess of Albemarle, who declared that she would never wed beneath royalty, and whom he wooed, won, and maintained as "Emperor of China."

When the widow of Joscelyn espoused Montague, her daughter Elizabeth went to reside with the mother of Joscelyn,—Dowager-Countess of Northumberland, and co-heiress to the Suffolk estate, destined to be added to the possessions of the little Elizabeth. She was an intriguing, indelicate, self-willed, and worthless old woman; and with respect to the poor little girl of whom she was the unworthy guardian, she "made her the subject of constant intrigues with men of power who wished for wealth, and with rich men who wished for rank and power." Before the unhappy little heiress had attained the age of thirteen, her grandmother had bound her in marriage with Henry Cavendish, Earl Ogle. Though the ceremony was performed, the parties did not, of course, reside together. The Dowager Countess and the Earl were satisfied that the fortune of the heiress was secured, and they were further content to wait for what might follow.

That which followed was what they least expected,—death; the bridegroom died within a year of his union with Elizabeth Percy; and this child, wife, and widow, was again at the disposal of her

wretched grandmother. The heiress of countless thousands was anything but the mistress of herself.

At this period the proprietor of the house and domain of Longleat, in Wiltshire, was that Thomas Thynne, whom Dryden has celebrated as the Issachar of his "Absalom and Achitophel," who was the friend of the Duke of Monmouth, was alliteratively spoken of as "Tom of Ten Thousand," and who was a very unworthy fellow, although the member of a most worthy house.

Tom's Ten Thousand virtues were of that metal which the Dowager Countess of Northumberland most approved; and her granddaughter had not been many months the widow of Lord Ogle, when her precious guardian united her by private marriage to Thynne. The newly-married couple were at once separated. The marriage was the result of an infamous intrigue between infamous people, some of whom, subsequently to Thynne's death, sued his executors for money which he had bound himself to pay for services rendered to further the marriage.

When Charles John Königsmark arrived in England, in January, 1682, all England was talking of the match wherein a poor child had been sold, although the purchaser had not yet possession of either his victim or her fortune. The common talk must have had deep influence on the count, who appears to have been impressed with the idea that if Thynne were dead, Count Charles John Königsmark might succeed to his place and expectations.

On the evening of Sunday, the 12th of February, 1682, Thynne was in his coach, from which the Duke of Monmouth had only just previously alighted, and was riding along that part of Pall-Mall which abuts upon Cockspur Street, when the carriage was stopped by three men on horseback, one of whom discharged a carbine into it, whereby Tom of Ten Thousand was so desperately wounded that he died in a few hours.

The persons charged with this murder were chiefly discovered by means of individuals of ill repute with whom they associated. By such means were arrested a German, Captain Vratz, Borosky a Pole, and a fellow, half knave, half enthusiast, described as Lieutenant Stern. Vratz had accompanied Königsmark to England. They lodged together, first in the Haymarket, next in Rupert

Street, and finally in St. Martin's Lane. Borosky had been clothed and armed at the count's expense; and Stern was employed as a likely tool to help them in this enterprise. It was proved on the trial, that after the deed was committed, these men were at the count's lodgings, that a sudden separation took place, and that the count himself, upon some sudden fear, took flight to the water side; there he lay hid for a while, and then dodged about the river, in various disguises, in order to elude pursuit, until he finally landed at Gravesend, where he was pounced upon by two most expert thief-catchers,—cunning as Vidocq, determined as Townsend, and farsighted as Field.

The confession of the instruments, save Vratz, did not affect the count. His defence took a high Protestant turn,—made allusion to his Protestant ancestors, and their deeds in behalf of Protestantism, lauded Protestant England, alluded to his younger brother, brought expressly here to be educated in Protestant principles, and altogether was exceedingly clever, but in no wise convincing. It was a defence likely to do him good with a jury and people in mortal fear of Popery, possessed by deadly hatred of a possible Popish successor to the throne, and influenced by foolish affection for the Duke of Monmouth, who, being of no religion at all, was consequently no "Papist," and might hereafter become a good Protestant king,—just as his graceless father had been. It was, moreover, known that the king would learn with pleasure that the count had been acquitted; and as this knowledge was possessed by judges who were removable at the king's pleasure, it had a very strong influence, and the arch-murderer, the most cowardly of the infamous company, was acquitted accordingly. In his case, the verdict, as regarded him, was given in last. The other three persons were indicted for the actual commission of the fact, Königsmark as accessory before the fact, hiring them, and instigating them to the crime. Thrice he had heard the word "Guilty" pronounced, and, despite his recklessness, was somewhat moved when the jury were asked as to their verdict respecting *him*. "Not Guilty," murmured the foreman;—and then the noble count, mindful only of himself, and forgetful of the three unhappy men whom he had dragged to death, exclaimed in his unmanly joy, "God

bless the king, and this honorable bench!" He well knew where his gratitude was due—to a graceless monarch, and a servile judge. The meaner assassins were flung to the gallows. Vratz went to his fate, like Pierre; declared that the murder was the result of a mistake, that he had no hand in it, and that as he was a gentleman, God would assuredly deal with him *as* such!

This "gentleman," who looked for civil treatment hereafter, accounted for his presence at the murder, as having arisen by his entertaining a quarrel with Mr. Thynne, whom he was about to challenge, when the Pole, mistaking his orders and inclinations, discharged his carbine into the carriage, and slew the occupant. The other two confessed to the murder, as the hired instruments of Vratz; but the latter (who could not have saved his own neck by implicating the count, his employer), kept his own secret as to him who had seduced him to this great sin, and, feeling that he was thus behaving as a "gentleman" of those days was expected to behave, quietly confided in God to treat him in gentlemanlike fashion, in return.

Count Philip Christopher gave brief evidence on this trial, simply to speak to his brother's having been engaged in the purchase of horses. As for Count Charles John, he felt for a moment that there was a blot or speck upon the escutcheon of the Königsmarks. "Tut," said he, after a little reflection,—"it will all be wiped out by some dazzling action in war, or a lodging on a counterscarp!" So did this Protestant gentleman settle with his conscience. He proceeded to efface the little speck in question by repairing to the Court of France, where he was received in that sort of gentlemanly fashion which Vratz looked for in Paradise.

His sword gleamed in many an action fought in various battle-fields of Europe during the next few years, in most of which he distinguished himself at the head of a French regiment, of which he was colonel. Finally, in 1686, he was in the service of the Venetians in the Morea. On the 29th of August he was before Argos, when a sortie was made by the garrison, and in the bloody struggle which ensued, he was mortally wounded. He had done enough, he thought, to wipe out the speck which had for a season sullied the good name of Königsmark; and he was grateful to the

last for the kind attentions paid to him by the "polite" society of England during the time of his little troubles. In short, this so-called Protestant gentleman, who was a Popish colonel in the service of Louis XIV., did not appear to have the remotest idea of the balance likely to be struck against him by the Recording Angel. Like Vratz, perhaps, he considered that he was too much of a "gentleman" to have his little foibles set down against him in Heaven's Chancery.

They were not even recorded against him on Thynne's tomb in Westminster Abbey. A Latin inscription was prepared for the tomb, which more than merely hinted that Königsmark was the murderer of Tom of Ten Thousand. "Small, servile, Spratt," then Dean of Westminster, would not, however, allow the inscription to be set up; and his apologists who advance in his behalf that he would have done wrong had he allowed a man, cleared by a jury from the charge of murder, to be permanently set down in hard record of marble, as an assassin, have much reason in what they advance.

Before we trace the further outlines of the Königsmark annals, it were as well briefly to state what became of the youthful maid, wife, and widow, Lady Ogle. She remained at Amsterdam (whither she had gone, some persons said *fled*), after her marriage with Thynne, until the three of his murderers, who had been executed, had expiated their crime, as far as human justice was concerned, upon the scaffold. If her ladyship landed at Harwich, the most frequented port in those days for travellers arriving from or proceeding to Holland, she probably passed the body of one of the assassins, Stern, as she entered London by Mile End. However this may be, the young lady did not "appear public," as the phrase went, for six or seven weeks, and when she did so, it was found that she had just married Charles Seymour, third Duke of Somerset—a match which made one of two silly persons and a couple of colossal fortunes.

This red-haired lady met with rude ingratitude from the Duke, and was designated by Swift as "your d—d Duchess of Somerset." He had reason to be angry, for when she was Mistress of the Robes to Queen Anne, she contrived to prevent his being raised to

a bishopric; by which she did extremely good service. She was the mother of a numerous family, and her third son married a grand-daughter of the first Viscount Weymouth,—the cousin and heir of Tom of Ten Thousand. She died in the fifty-sixth year of her age, A.D. 1722; and the Duke, then sixty-four, found speedy consolation for his loss in a marriage with the youthful Lady Charlotte Finch, who was at once his wife, nurse, and secretary. A very few persons of extreme old age are alive who saw her in their childhood, when she died, in the year 1773. It is said of her, that she one day, in the course of conversation, tapped her husband familiarly on the shoulder with her fan; whereupon that amiable gentleman indignantly cried out:—"Madam, my first wife was a Percy; and she never took such a liberty!"

But it is time to revert to the Königsmark whose fate was so bound up with that of Sophia Dorothea. He left England with his brother, and did *not* pursue his researches after Protestantism at the feet of any reformed Gamaliel on the Continent. Like his brother, he led an adventurous and roving life, never betraying any symptom of the Christian spirit of the religion of the Church of England, of which he first tasted what little could be found in Major Faubert's riding school. A portion of his time was spent at Hamburg with his mother and two sisters. His renown was sufficient for a cavalier who loved to live splendidly; and when he appeared at the Court of Hanover, he was welcomed as cavaliers are who are so comfortably endowed.

CHAPTER VII.

KÖNIGSMARK AT COURT.

The estimation in which Count Philip Christopher von Königsmark was held at the Court of Hanover, was soon manifested by his elevation to the post of Colonel of the Guards. He was the handsomest colonel in the small Electoral army, and passed for the richest. His way of life was warrant for the opinion entertained

of his wealth, but more flimsy warrant could hardly have existed, for the depth of a purse is not to be discovered by the manner of life of him who owns it. He continued withal to enchant every one with whom he came in contact. The spendthrifts reverenced him, for he was royally extravagant; the few people of taste spoke of him encouragingly, for at an era when little taste was shown, he exhibited much in both his dress and his equipages. These were splendid without being gaudy. The scholars even could speak with and of him without a sneer expressed or reserved, for Philip Christopher was intellectually endowed, had read more than most of the mere cavaliers of his day, and had a good memory, with an understanding, whose digestive powers a philosopher might have envied. He was not less welcome to the soldier than the scholar, for he had had experience in "the tented field," and had earned in the "imminently deadly breach" much reputation, without having been himself, in the slightest degree, "illustriously maimed." Ball-rooms re-echoed with the ringing eulogiums of his gracefulness, and his witty sayings are reported as having been in general circulation; but they have not been strong enough to travel by the rough paths of time down to these later days. He is praised, too, as having been satirical, without any samples of his satire having been offered for our opinion. He was daringly irreligious, for which free-thinkers applauded him as a man of liberal sentiments, believing little, and fearing less. He was pre-eminently gay, which, in modern and honest English, means that he was terribly licentious; and such was the temper of the times, that probably he was as popular for this characteristic as for all the other qualities by which he was distinguished, put together. Those times must be more than ordinarily out of joint when a man is more estimably accounted of for his great sins than for his sterling virtues.

There was nothing remarkable in the fact that he speedily attracted the notice of Sophia Dorothea. She may, without fault, have remembered with pleasure the companion of her youth; may have "wished him well and no harm done," as Pierre says. He was not a mere stranger; and the two met, just as the husband of Sophia Dorothea had publicly insulted her by ostentatiously

parading his attachment and his bad taste for women, no more to be compared with her in worth and virtue than Läis with Lucretia.

What follows much more nearly resembles romance than history, but it is without doubt substantially true, and in the details of the catastrophe wholly so. It is asserted that the count had scarcely been made Colonel of the Guards when the Countess von Platen fixed upon him as the instrument by which she would ruin Sophia Dorothea, and relieve George Louis of a wife whose virtues were a continual reproach to him. The simplest and most innocent of circumstances appeared here the basis whereon to lay the first stone of her edifice of infamy.

The princess had been taking some exercise in the gardens of the palace, returning from which she met her little son, George Augustus, whom she took from the arms of his attendant, and with him in her arms began to ascend the stairs which led to her apartments. Her good will was greater than her strength, and Count Königsmark happened to see her at the moment when she was exhibiting symptoms of weakness and irresolution, embarrassed by her burden, and not knowing how to proceed with it. The count at once, with ready gallantry, not merely proffered, but gave his aid. He took the young prince from his mother, ascended the stairs, holding the future King of England in his arms, and at the door of the apartment of Sophia Dorothea again consigned him to maternal keeping. They tarried for a few brief moments at the door, exchanging a few conventional terms of thanks and civility, when they were seen by the ubiquitous von Platen, and out of this simple fact she gradually worked the subsequent terrible calamity which may be said to have slain both victims, for Sophia Dorothea was only for years slowly accomplishing death, which fell upon the cavalier so surely and so swiftly.

This incident was reported to Ernest Augustus with much exaggeration of detail, and liberal suggestion not warranted by the facts. The conduct of the princess was mildly censured as indiscretion, and that of the count as disloyal impertinence; and, thereto, there seems to have been added a mountain of comment and a misty world of hints, which annoyed the Duke without convincing

him. If he had a conviction, it was that von Platen was herself more zealous than discreet, and less discerning than either.

Foiled in her first attempt to ruin Sophia Dorothea, she addressed herself to the task of cementing strict friendship with the count; and he, a gallant cavalier, was nothing loth, naught suspecting. Of the terms of this friendly alliance little is known. They were only to be judged of by the conduct of the parties whom that alliance bound. A perfect understanding appeared to have been established between them; and the Countess von Platen was often heard to rally the count upon the love-passages in his life, and even upon his alleged well-known admiration of Sophia Dorothea. What was said jokingly, or was intended to seem as if said jokingly, was soon accepted by casual hearers as a sober, and a sad as sober, truth.

This first step having been made, no time was lost in pursuing the object for which it had been accomplished. At one of those splendid masquerades, in which Ernest Augustus especially delighted, which he managed with consummate taste, and for which he gained as much reputation among the gay, as he had deservedly won for deeds of battle, from the brave,—at one of these gorgeous entertainments, given about the time of the Duke's elevation to the electorate, Königsmark distinguished himself above all the other guests by the variety, as well as richness, of his costume, and by the sparkling talent with which he supported each assumed character. He excited a universal admiration, and in none,—so it was said by the Countess von Platen,—in none more than in Sophia Dorothea. This may have been true, and the poor princess may possibly have found some oblivion for her domestic trials in allowing herself to be amused with the exercise of the count's dramatic talent. She honestly complimented him on his ability, and on the advantages which the fête derived from his presence, his talent, and his good-nature. Out of this compliment, the countess forged another link of the chain, whereby she intended to bind the princess to a ruin from which she should not escape.

The next incident told is more dramatic of character, perhaps, than any of the others. The countess had engaged the count in conversation in a pavilion of the gardens in the electoral palace,

when, making the approach of two gentlemen an excuse for retiring, they withdrew together. The gentlemen alluded to were George Louis and the Count von Platen; and these entering the pavilion which had been just vacated, the former picked up a glove which had been dropped by the countess. The prince recognized it by the embroidery, and perhaps by a crest, or some mark impressed upon it, as being a glove belonging to his consort. He was musingly examining it, when a servant entered the place, professedly in search of a glove which the princess had lost. On some explanation ensuing, it was subsequently discovered that Madame Wreyke, the sister of the Countess von Platen, had succeeded in persuading the Prince Maximilian to procure for her this glove, on pretext that she wished to copy the pattern of the embroidery upon it, and that the prince had thoughtlessly done so, leaving the glove of Madame Wreyke in its place. But this, which might have accounted for its appearance in the pavilion, was not known to George Louis, who would probably, in such case, have ceased to think more of the matter, but that he was obligingly informed that Count Königsmark had been before him in the pavilion where the glove was found,—been there, indeed, with the excellent Countess von Platen, who acknowledged the fact, adding, that no glove was on the ground when she was there, and that the one found could not have been hers, inasmuch as she never wore Netherland gloves, as the one in question was, but gloves altogether of different make and quality. Königsmark had been there, and the glove of the Princess Sophia Dorothea had been found there, and this excellent German specimen of *Mrs. Candour* knew nothing beyond.

This unlucky glove really effected as much perplexity, pain, and calamity as the handkerchief in *Othello*. Thenceforth, George Louis was not merely rude and faithless to his wife, but cruel in the extreme—the degrading blow, so it was alleged, following the harsh word. The Elector of Hanover was more just than his rash and worthless son; he disbelieved the insinuations made against his daughter-in-law, and was probably disgusted with the domestic trouble with which his electorship had been inaugurated. The electress was less reasonable, less merciful, less just, to her son's wife. She treated her with a coolness which interpreted a belief

in the slander uttered against her; and when Sophia Dorothea expressed a wish to visit her mother, the electoral permission was given with an alacrity which testified to the pleasure with which the Electress of Hanover would witness the departure of Sophia Dorothea from her court.

Granting that the incidents were all as here related, the persons who were affected by them as damning evidence against the wife of "the electoral prince," as George Louis was now called, must have been singularly void of penetration, or even of common discernment. But some of them, if they lacked clearness of judgment, did not want for wickedness; and, in truth, it may be rather said, that their penetration was not at fault, but that their wickedness would not permit of its being exercised.

Sophia Dorothea had experience of this as soon as she descended at the gates of her father's residence. She found a mother there, indeed, ready to receive her with the arms of a mother's love, and to feel that the love was showered upon a daughter worthy of it. Not of like quality were the old Duke's feelings. Communications had been made to him from Hanover, to the effect that his daughter was obstinate, disobedient, disrespectful to the elector and electress, neglectful of her children, and faithless in heart, if not in fact, to their father. The Duke of Zell had been, as he thought, slow to believe the charges brought against his child's good name, and had applied to the elector for some farther explanation. But poor Ernest Augustus was just then perplexed by another domestic quarrel. His son, the ever troublesome Prince Maximilian, having long entertained a suspicion that the Countess von Platen's denial of the light offence laid to her charge, of wearing *rouge*, was also a playful denial, mischievously proved the fact one day, by not very gallantly "flicking" (a good German word, as explaining the consequence of what he did) from his finger a little water in which peas had been boiled, and which was then a popularly mischievous test to try the presence of *rouge*, as, if the latter were there, the pea-water left an indelible *fleck* or stain upon it. At this indignity, the Countess von Platen was the more enraged, as her denial had been disproved. She rushed to the feet of the elector, and told her complaint with an energy as if the whole state

were in peril. The elector listened, threatened Prince Maximilian with arrest, and wished his family were as easy to govern as his electoral dominions. He had scarcely relieved himself of this particular source of trouble, by binding Prince Maximilian to his good behavior, when he was applied to by the Duke of Zell on the subject of his daughter. He angrily referred the Duke to three of his ministers, who, he said, were acquainted with the facts. Now these ministers were the men who had expressly distorted them.

These worthy persons, if report may be trusted, performed their wicked office, with as wicked an alacrity. However the result was reached, its existence cannot be denied, and its consequences were fatal to Sophia Dorothea. The Electress Sophia is said to have so thoroughly hated her daughter-in-law as to have entered partly into these misrepresentations, which acquired for her the temporary wrath of her father. But of this enmity of her mother-in-law, the younger Sophia does not appear to have suspected anything. She possessed not those means of discovering the treachery of such a relative, which, according to Plutarch, were to be procured by the nations of old. The icy-cold plant called the Phryxa, which grew on the banks of the Tanais, was popularly said to be the guardian angel of those who feared the machinations of step-dames and mothers-in-law. If one of the latter were plotting against the peace of her kindred by marriage, the plant set itself on fire, and shot forth a bright flame upon being looked at by the intended victim. On the other hand, the name of a step-dame or mother-in-law breathed over the white violet which grew on the banks of the river Lycormas, caused the flower to instantly wither away,—such antipathy did it bear to the persons holding in families the rank and position above named.

Sophia Dorothea had no means of applying the first test, nor would she, even if the application had resulted in the discovery of her mother-in-law's treachery, have had recourse, even if she could, to the test. She was too gentle of nature, and she bore her father's temporary aversion with a wondering patience, satisfied that "time and the hour" would at length do her justice.

The Duke's prejudice, however, was rather stubborn of character, and he was guilty of many absurdities to show, as he thought,

that his obstinacy of ill-merited feeling against his own child was not ill-founded. He refused to listen to her own statement of her wrongs, in order to show how he guarded himself against being unduly biassed: a proceeding which as much ran counter against profession, as that of the old clergy of the Established Church of Scotland, who had a horror of theatrical entertainments, but who, nevertheless, made a point of going to the play in Lent, that they might manifest their contempt for what they considered a remnant of Popery!

The mother of the princess remained, however, and naturally so, her firmest friend, and truest champion. If misrepresentations had shaken her confidence for a moment, it was *only* for a moment. She knew the disposition of Sophia Dorothea too well to lend credit to false representations which depicted her as a wife, compared with whom Petruchio's Katherine would have been the gentlest of Griseldas. As little did she believe,—and to the expression of her disbelief she gave much indignant force of phrase,—as little did she believe in the suggestions, rather than assertions, of the ministers of the elector, that the familiar terms which, as they alleged, existed between the electoral princess and Count Königsmark were such as did foul wrong to her husband George Louis. Those terms were not more familiar than those which existed between the electress herself and her favorite, Leibnitz; but the electress was neither fair nor young, and Leibnitz was of neither a seductive look nor age. The judges of morality at once jumped to the conclusion, that youth and good looks were incompatible with propriety of conduct.

The worst that could have been alleged against Sophia Dorothea at this period was, that some letters had passed between her and Count Königsmark, and that the latter had once or twice had private audience of the electoral princess. Whatever may be thought of such things here in England, and the present age, they have never been accounted of in Germany but as commonplace circumstances, involving neither blame nor injury. A correspondence between two persons, of the respective ranks of the electoral princess and the count, was not an uncommon occurrence —save that it was not often that two such persons had either the

taste or capacity to maintain such intercourse. As to an occasional interview, such a favor, granted by ladies of rank to clever conversational men, was as common an event as any throughout the empire; and as harmless as the interviews of Leonora and that very selfish personage, the poet Tasso. The simple fact appears to have been, that, out of a very small imprudence,—if imprudence it may be called,—the enemies of Sophia Dorothea contrived to rear a structure which should threaten her with ruin. Her exemplary husband, who affected to hold himself wronged by the alleged course adopted by his consort, had abandoned her, in the worst sense of that word. He had never, in absence, made her hours glad by letters, whose every word is dew to a soul athirst for assurance of even simple esteem. In his own household his conversation was seldom or never addressed to his wife; and, when it was, never to enlighten, raise, or cheer her. She *may* have conversed and corresponded with Königsmark, but no society *then* construed such conversation and correspondence as crimes; and even if they had approached in this case to a limit which would have merited stern censure, the last man who should have stooped to pick up a stone to cast at the reputation of his consort was that George Louis, whose affected indignation was expressed from a couch with Mademoiselle von Schulemberg at his side, and their very old-fashioned (as to look, but not less illegitimate as to fact) baby, playing, in much unconsciousness of her future distinction, between them.

It was because Sophia Dorothea had not been altogether tamely silent touching her own wrongs, that she had found enemies trumpet-tongued publishing a forged record of her transgressions. When Count Mölcke had become implicated in the little domestic rebellion of Prince Maximilian, some intimation was conveyed to him, that, if he would contrive, in his defence, to mingle the name of Sophia Dorothea in the details of the trumpery conspiracy, so as to attach suspicion to such name, his own acquittal would be secured. The count was a gallant man, refused to injure an unoffending lady, and was beheaded; as though he had conspired to overthrow a state, instead of having tried to help a discontented heir in the disputed settlement of some family accounts.

The contempt of Sophia Dorothea on discovering to what lengths the intimacy of George Louis and Ermengarde von Schulemberg had gone, found bitter and eloquent expression. Where an angry contest was to be maintained, George Louis could be eloquent too; and in these domestic quarrels, not only is he said to have been as coarse as any of his own grooms, but even, on one occasion, to have proceeded to blows. His hand was on her throat, and the wife and mother of a King of England would have been strangled by her exasperated lord, had it not been for the intervention of the courtiers, who rushed in, and, presumedly prevented murder. To such a story wide currency was given, and if not exact to the letter, neither can it be said to be without foundation. As little can it be said to be without precedent. William the Norman was a mirror of knighthood, and *he* is known to have knocked down the gentle Matilda of Flanders, even in the days of their courtship. The blow did not put a stop to their wooing, nor did it delay a merry wedding, which one would think could hardly have been merry under such auspices. Then there was that paragon of chivalry, the elder Aymon, sire of the "Quatre fils Aymon" of the romantic legend; *that* gallant gentleman was not only accustomed to maltreat his lady-wife by thumping her into insensibility, but when his eldest son, Reinold, once ventured to comment upon one of those pleasant little domestic scenes, to the effect that they interrupted conviviality, and that his respected sire should either chastise the speaker's mother more gently, or elsewhere, the knightly father was so enraged at this approach to interference on the part of a son, in behalf of a mother who was lying senseless at his feet, that, taking him with one hand by the hair, he beat his face with the other and mailed hand, into that pulpy consistency which, Professor Whewell says, possibly distinguishes the interesting inhabitants of the wide and desolate plane of the planet Jupiter. From this contest, however, the old knight came out as little recognizable in human features as his son, so chivalrously had they mauled each other. So much for precedent. The example has been followed in Germany since the days of George Louis. Louis XVIII. informs us in his Memoirs, that when the daughter of Louis XVI. found a refuge at Vienna, after her liberation from

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The ill-treatment of George Louis drove Sophia Dorothea to Zell, and the wrath of her husband and the intrigues of von Platen made of that residence anything but a refuge. The Duke refused to give permission to his daughter to remain longer in his palace than was consistent with the limit of an ordinary visit. She petitioned most urgently, and her mother seconded her prayer with energy as warm, that for the present she might make of Zell a temporary home. Her angry father would not listen to the request of either petitioner; on the contrary, he intimated to his daughter, that if she did not return to Hanover by a stated period, she would be permanently separated from her children. On the expression of this threat she ceased to press for leave to remain longer absent from Hanover; and when the day named for her departure arrived, she set out once more for the scene of her old miseries, anticipation of misery yet greater in her heart, and with nothing to strengthen her but a mother's love, and to guide her but a mother's counsel. Neither was able to save her from the ruin under which she was so soon overwhelmed.

Her return had been duly announced to the Court of Hanover, and so much show of outward respect was vouchsafed her as consisted in a portion of the electoral family repairing to the country residence of Herrnhausen to meet her on her way, and accompany her to the capital. Of this attention, however, she was unaware, and she passed Herrnhausen at as much speed as could then be shown by electoral post-horses. It is said that her first intention was to have stopped at the country mansion, where the electoral party was waiting to do her honor; that she was aware of the latter fact, but that she hurried on her way for the reason that she saw the Countess von Platen seated at one of the windows looking on to the road, and that, rather than encounter

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Her return had been duly announced to the Court of Hanover, and so much show of outward respect was vouchsafed her as consisted in a portion of the electoral family repairing to the country residence of Herrnhausen to meet her on her way, and accompany her to the capital. Of this attention, however, she was unaware, and she passed Herrnhausen at as much speed as could then be shown by electoral post-horses. It is said that her first intention was to have stopped at the country mansion, where the electoral party was waiting to do her honor; that she was aware of the latter fact, but that she hurried on her way for the reason that she saw the Countess von Platen seated at one of the windows looking on to the road, and that, rather than encounter

her, she offended nearly a whole family, who were more nice touching matters of etiquette than they were touching matters of morality. The members of this family, in waiting to receive a young lady, against whom they considered that they were not without grounds of complaint, were lost in a sense of horror that was farcical, and of indignation at violated proprieties, that must have been as comical to look at, as it, no doubt, was intense. The farcical nature of the scene is to be found in the fact, that these good people, by piling their agony beyond measure, made it ridiculous. There was no warrant for their horror, no cause for their indignation; and when they all returned to Hanover, following on the track of a young princess, whose contempt of ceremony tended to give them strange suspicions as to whether she possessed any remnant of virtue at all, these very serene princes and princesses were as supremely ridiculous as any of the smaller people worshipping ceremony in that never-to-be-forgotten city of Kotzebue's painting, called Krähwinkel.

When Sophia Dorothea passed by Herrnhausen, regardless of the company who awaited her there, she left the persons of a complicated drama standing in utter amazement on one of the prettiest of theatres. Herrnhausen, the "master's mansion" was a name given to trim gardens, as well as to the edifice surrounded by them. At the period of which we are treating, the grounds were a scene of delight; the fountains tasteful, the basins large, and the water abundant. The maze, or wilderness, was the wonder of Germany, and the orangery the pride of Europe. There was also, what may still be seen in some of the pleasure-grounds of German princes, a perfectly rustic theatre, complete in itself, with but little help from any hand but that of nature. The seats were cut out of the turf, the verdure resembled green velvet, and the chances of rheumatism must have been many. There was no roof but the sky, and the dressing-rooms of the actors were lofty bowers constructed near the stage; the whole was adorned with a profusion of gilded statues, and kept continually damp by an incessant play of spray-scattering water-works. The *grand tableau* of rage in this locality, as Sophia Dorothea passed unheedingly by, must have been a spectacle worth the contemplating.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CATASTROPHE.

With the return of Sophia Dorothea to Hanover, her enemies appeared to have commenced more actively their operations against her. George Louis was languidly amusing himself with Ermengarde von Schulemberg and their little daughter Petronilla Melusina. The Countess von Platen was in a state of irritability at the presence of Sophia Dorothea, and the absence of Königsmark. The last-mentioned person had, in his wide-spread adoration, offered a portion of his homage to both the countess and her daughter. The elder lady, while accepting as much of the incense for herself as was safe to inhale, endeavored to secure the count as a husband for her daughter. Her failure only increased her bitterness against the count, and by no means lent less asperity to the sentiment with which she viewed Sophia Dorothea. She was, no doubt, the chief cause, primarily and approximate, of the ruin which fell upon both.

It was not merely the absence of Königsmark, who was on a visit to the riotous court of Augustus of Saxony, which had scared her spirit; the reports which were made to her of his conversation there gave fierceness to her resentment, and called into existence that desire of bloody vengeance which she accomplished, but without profiting by the wickedness.

There was no more welcome guest at Dresden than Königsmark. An individual so gallant of bearing, handsome of feature, easy of principle, and lively of speech, was sure to be warmly welcomed at that dissolute court. He played deeply, and whatever sums he might lose, he never lost his temper. He drank as deeply as he played; not quite so deeply, perhaps, as the old Emperor Maximilian, or as the older Persians who could boast, when they

had nothing else left to boast of, that they could drink more than any other men without being overpowered by their liquor. But Königsmark was inferior to both the Persians of old, and to the more modern toper Maximilian, in discretion under wine. He then became as loquacious as Cassio, but more given to slander. He was then as prodigal, too, of flattery. No man was more open to the double peril named by Dr. South, when he said, that "as by flattery a man opens his bosom to his mortal enemy; so, by detraction and slander he shuts the same to his best friends." It was not that he had that secret propensity of the mind to think ill of all men, which is followed by the utterance of such sentiments in ill-natured expressions, the which, according to Theophrastus, constitutes slander. He spoke ill of others out of mere thoughtlessness, or at times out of mere vanity. He possessed not what Swift calls the "lower prudence" of discretion. "Vanity," says Jeremy Collier, "is a strong temptation to lying;" and in detailing its characteristics and consequences, he names, among others, that it "makes men tell strange stories of their interest and acquaintance." Königsmark in some degree illustrated these remarks; and his vanity, and the stories to which it prompted him, seemed to amuse and interest the idle and scandalous court where he was so welcome a guest.

He kept the illustriously wicked company there in an uninterrupted ecstasy by the tales he told, and the point he gave to them,—of the chief personages of the Court of Hanover. He retailed anecdotes of the elector and his son, George Louis, and warmly-tinted stories of the shameless mistresses of that exemplary parent, and no less exemplary child. He did not spare even the Electress Sophia; but she was, after all, too respectable for Königsmark to be able to make of her a subject of ridicule. This subject he found in ladies of smaller virtue and less merit generally. Touching them his anecdotes were of a quality to suit a "Chronique Scandaleuse," to delight Brantome, and to have made the very ghost of Boccaccio smile. But every word he uttered, in sarcastic description of the life, character, and behavior of the favorites of the Elector of Hanover and his son, found its way, with no loss of pungency on the road, to the ears of those persons whom the report

was most likely to offend. His warm advocacy of Sophia Dorothea, expressed at the table of Augustus of Saxony, was only an additional offence; and George Louis was taught to think that Count Königsmark had no right to ask, with Pierre, "May not a man wish his friend's wife well, and no harm done?"

The count returned to Hanover soon after Sophia Dorothea had arrived there, subsequent to her painful visit to the little court of her ducal parents at Zell. In this connection of circumstances there was nothing pre-arranged; and no one could be more surprised probably than the count himself, when, shortly after his resuming his duties as colonel of the electoral guard, he received a note from the princess, written in pencil, and expressing a wish to see him in her chamber.

The note was a forged document,—as confessed by the Countess von Platen, when confession came too late for the repair of evil that could not be undone. Nevertheless, the count, on presenting himself to Mademoiselle Knesebeck, the lady of honor to the princess, was admitted to the presence of the latter. This indiscreet step was productive of terrible consequences to all the three who were present. The count, on being asked to explain the reason of his seeking an interview with the princess, at an advanced hour of the evening, produced the note of invitation, which Sophia Dorothea at once pronounced to be a forgery. Had they then separated, little of ill consequence might have followed. The most discreet of the three, and the most perplexed at the "situation," was the lady of honor. The Memoirs which bear her name, and which describe this scene, present to us a woman of some weakness, yet one not wanting in discernment. In proof of the latter, it may be stated that, as she had long previously suspected the count to be a worthless libertine, so on this night suspicion was followed by conviction.

Sophia Dorothea, it would seem, could dwell upon no subject but that of her domestic troubles, the cruel neglect of her husband, and her desire to find somewhere the refuge from persecution which had been denied to her in her old home at Zell. More dangerous topics could not have been treated by two such persons. The count, it is affirmed, ventured to suggest that Paris would

afford her such a refuge, and that he should be but too happy to be permitted to give her such protection as she could derive from his escort thither. This was probably rather hinted than suggested; but however that may be, only one course should have followed even a distant hint leading to so unwarrantable an end. The interview should have been brought to a close. It was still continued, nevertheless, and to the annoyance, if not scandal, of the faithful Knesebeck; whose fears may have received some little solace on hearing her mistress express a desire to find at least a temporary home at the court of her cousin, Duke Anthony Ulric of Wölfenbuttel.

While this discussion was proceeding, the Countess von Platen was by no means idle. She had watched the count to the bower into which she had sent him by the employment of a false lure, and she thereupon hastened to the elector to communicate what she termed her discovery. Ernest Augustus, albeit waxing old, was by no means infirm of judgment. If Königsmark was then in the chamber of his daughter-in-law, he refused to see in the fact anything more serious than its own impropriety. *That*, however, was crime enough to warrant the arrest which the countess solicited. The old elector yielded to all she asked, except credence of her assurance that Sophia Dorothea must be as guilty as Königsmark was presuming. He would consent to nothing further than the arrest of him who was guilty of the presumption; and the method of this arrest he left to the conduct of the countess, who urgently solicited it as a favor, and with solicitation of such earnestness that the old elector affected to be jealous of the interest she took in such a case, and added playfully the expression of his opinion, that, angry as she seemed to be with the count, he was too handsome a man to be likely to meet with ill treatment at her hands.

Armed with this permission, she proceeded to the body of soldiers or watch for the night, and exhibiting her written warrant for what she demanded, she requested that a guard might be given to her, for a purpose which she would explain to them. Some four or five men of this household body were told off, and these were conducted by her to a large apartment, called the Hall of

Knights, through which Königsmark must pass, if he had not yet quitted the princess's chamber.

They were then informed that their office was to arrest a criminal, whose person was described to them, of whose safe custody the elector was so desirous, that he would rather that such criminal should be slain than that he should escape. They were accordingly instructed to use their weapons if he should resist; and as their courage had been heightened by the double bribe of much wine and a shower of gold pieces, they expressed their willingness to execute her bidding, and only too well showed by their subsequent act the sincerity of their expression.

At length Königsmark appeared, coming from the princess's apartment. It was now midnight. He entered the Ritters' Hall, as unsuspecting of the fate before him as the great Guise was of *his* destiny when he crossed the vast and dark apartment in the Castle of Blois, and was butchered ere he reached an opposite door to that through which he entered, by the hired assassins of Henri III.

The elector, had he cared much for the honor of his daughter-in-law, would have investigated the case himself. The husband of Sophia Dorothea might have been summoned to look to his own honor, and the peril in which it is said to have stood that night; but it is remarkable that at this very time he was absent on a visit to Berlin, where his sister, the Electress of Brandenburgh, is said to have almost called a blush upon his cheek by her portraiture of his conduct, and a detail of the wrongs by which he had inflicted vast misery upon his wife. In the absence of these two competent authorities, the Electress of Hanover troubling herself little with any affairs less weighty than politics, philosophy, and worsted-work, the Countess von Platen was sovereign for the time being, over the small circle of Hanover, of which she was the centre—and the sovereign of the hour wielded her might with a prompt and most terrific energy.

In the Ritters' Hall there was a huge, square, ponderous stove, looking like a mausoleum, silent and cold. It reached from floor to roof, and hidden by one of its sides, the guard awaited the coming of the count. He approached the spot, passed it, was seized

from behind, and immediately drew his sword to defend himself from attack. His enemies gave him but scant opportunity to assail them in his own defence, and after a few wild passes with his weapon, he was struck down by the spear, or old-fashioned battle-axe, of one of the guards, and when he fell, there were three wounds in him out of any one of which life might find passage.

On feeling himself grow faint, he—and in this case, like a thoroughly true and gallant man—thought of the lady and her reputation. The last words he uttered were, "Spare the innocent princess!" soon after which he expired; but not before, as is reported by those who love to dwell minutely on subjects of horror, not before the Countess von Platen had set her foot triumphantly upon his bloody face.

Such is the German detail of this assassination. It is added, that it gave extreme annoyance to the elector, to whom it was immediately communicated; that the body was forthwith consigned to a secure resting-place, and covered with quick-lime; and that the whole bloody drama was enacted without any one being aware of what was going on, save the actors themselves.

In Cramer's "Memoirs of the Countess of Königsmark," the fate of the count is told upon the alleged evidence of a so-called eye-witness. It differs in several respects from other accounts, but is clear and simple in its details,—though it is not to be accepted as authentic, simply on *that* account. It is to the following effect.

"Bernard Zayer, a native of Heidelberg, in the Palatinate, a wax-image maker, and artist in lacker-work, was engaged by the electoral princess to teach her his art. Being on this acconnt, continually in the princess's apartment, he has frequently seen Count Königsmark there, who looked on while the princess worked. He once learned in confidence, from the electoral princess's groom of the chambers, that the electoral prince was displeased about the count, and had sworn to break his neck, which Bernard revealed to the princess, who answered:—'Let them attack Königsmark, he knows how to defend himself.' Some time afterwards there was an opera, but the princess was unwell and kept her bed. The opera began, and as the count was absent as well as the princess, first a page, and then the hoff-fourier were sent out for intelligence.

The hoff-fourier came back running, and whispered to the electoral prince, and then to his highness the elector. But the electoral prince went away from the opera with the hoff-fourier. Now Bernard saw all this, and knew what it meant, and as he knew the count was with the princess, he left the opera secretly, to warn her; and as he went in at the door, the other door was opened, and two masked persons rushed in, one exclaiming, 'So! then I find you!' The count, who was sitting on the bed, with his back to the door by which the two entered, started up, and whipped out his sword, saying, 'Who can say anything unbecoming of me?' The princess, clasping her hands, said, 'I, a princess, am I not allowed to converse with a gentleman?' But the masks, without listening to reason, slashed and stabbed away at the count. But he pressed so upon both, that the electoral prince unmasked, and begged for his life, while the hoff-fourier came behind the count, and run him through between the ribs with his sabre, so that he fell, saying, 'You are murderers, before God and man, who do me wrong.' But they both of them gave him more wounds, so that he lay as dead. Bernard, seeing all this, hid himself behind the door of the other room."

Bernard was subsequently sent by the princess to spy out what they would do with Königsmark.

"When the count was in the vault, he came a little to himself, and spoke:—'You take a guiltless man's life. On that I'll die, but do not let me perish like a dog, in my blood and my sins. Grant me a priest, for my soul's sake.' Then the *electoral prince went out*, and the fourier remained alone with him. Then was a strange parson fetched, and a strange executioner, and the fourier fetched a great chair. And when the count had confessed, he was so weak that three or four of them lifted him into the chair; and there *in the prince's presence* was his head laid at his feet. And they had tools with them, and they dug a hole in the right corner of the vault, and there they laid him, and there he must be to be found. When all was over, this Bernhard slipped away from the castle; and indeed Counsellor Lucius, who was a friend of the Princess's, sent him some of his livery to save him; for they sought him in all corners because they had seen him in the room

during the affray. . . . And what Bernhard Zayer saw in the vault, he saw through a crack."

Clear as this narrative is in its details, it is contradictory in some of them, and yet it probably rests on some basis of truth.

The Countess Aurora of Königsmark has left a statement of her brother's connection with the princess, in which the latter's innocence is maintained, but his imprudence acknowledged. The statement referred to, explains the guilty nature of the intercourse kept up between Königsmark and the Countess von Platen. It is written in terms of extreme indelicacy. We may add that the faithful von Knesebeck, on whose character no one ever cast an imputation, in her examination before the judges, argued the innocence of her accused mistress upon grounds, the nature of which cannot even be alluded to. The princess it is clear had urged Königsmark to renew his interrupted intrigue with von Platen, out of dread that the latter, taking the princess as the cause of the intercourse having been broken off, should work a revenge which she did not hesitate to menace, upon the princess herself.

The details of both stories are marked by great improbability, but they have been in part substantiated by the death-bed confessions of the Countess von Platen, and Baumain, one of the guards, —the two criminals having, without so intending it, confessed to the same clergyman,—a minister named Kramer. Though these confessions are spoken of, and are even cited by German authors, their authenticity cannot perhaps be warranted. At all events, there is what I may term an English version of the details of this murder given by Horace Walpole, and as that lively writer founded his lugubrious details upon authority which he deemed could not be gainsaid, they may fairly find a place, by way of supplement to the foreign version.

"Königsmark's vanity," says Walpole, "the beauty of the electoral princess, and the neglect under which he found her, encouraged his presumptions to make his addresses to her, not covertly, and she, though believed not to have transgressed her duty, did receive them too indiscreetly. The old elector, flamed at the insolence of so stigmatised a pretender, and ordered him to quit his dominions the next day. This princess surrounded by

women too closely connected with her husband, and consequently enemies of the lady they injured, was persuaded by them to suffer the count to kiss her hand, before his abrupt departure; and he was actually introduced by them into her bedchamber the next morning before she rose. From that moment he disappeared, nor was it known what became of him, till on the death of George I., on his son, the new king's first journey to Hanover, some alterations in the palace being ordered by him, the body of Königsmark was discovered under the floor of the electoral princess's dressing-room;—the count having probably been strangled there, the instant he left her, and his body secreted. The discovery was hushed up. George II. (the son of Sophia Dorothea) entrusted the secret to his wife Queen Caroline, who told it to my father; but the king was too tender of the honor of his mother to utter it to his mistress; nor did Lady Suffolk ever hear of it, till I informed her of it several years afterwards. The disappearance of the count made his murder suspected, and various reports of the discovery of his body, have of late years been spread, but not with the authentic circumstances."

To turn to the German sources of information: we are told by these, that after the departure of Königsmark from the chamber of the princess, she was engaged in arranging her papers, and in securing her jewels, preparatory as she hoped to her anticipated removal to the court of Wölfenbuttel. She was, of course, kept in ignorance of the count's assassination; but she was perplexed by his disappearance, and alarmed when she heard that all his papers had been seized and conveyed to the elector for his examination. Some notes had passed between them: and, innocent as they were, she felt annoyed at the thought that their existence should be known, still more that they should be perused. To their most innocent expressions the Countess von Platen, who examined them with the elector, gave a most guilty interpretation; and she so wrought upon Ernest Augustus, that he commissioned no less a person than the Count von Platen to interrogate the princess on the subject. I have previously said that she did not lack spirit; and when the coarse-minded count began to put coarse questions to her, as to the degree of intercourse which had existed between

herself and the count, she spiritedly remarked that he appeared to imagine that he was examining into the conduct of his own wife, a thrust which he repaid by bluntly informing her that whatever intercourse may have existed, it would never be renewed, seeing that sure intelligence had been received of Königsmark's death.

Sophia Dorothea, shocked at this information, and at the manner in which it was conveyed, had no friend in whom she could repose confidence but her faithful lady-in-waiting, Mademoiselle von Knesebeck. The princess could have had no more ardent defender than this worthy attendant. But the assertions made by the latter in favor of the mistress whom she loved, were not at all to the taste of the enemies of that mistress, and the speedy result was, that Mademoiselle von Knesebeck was arrested, and carried away to the castle of Schartzfeld, in the Hartz. She was there kept in confinement many years; but she ultimately escaped so cleverly through the roof, by the help of a tiler, or a friend in the likeness of a tiler, that the credit of the success of the attempt was given, by the governor of the gaol, to the demons of the adjacent mountains.

Sophia Dorothea had now but one immediate earnest wish, namely, to retire from Hanover. Already the subject of a divorce had been mooted, but the elector being somewhat fearful that a divorce might affect his son's succession to his wife's inheritance, and even obstruct the union of Zell with Hanover, an endeavor was made to reconcile the antagonistic spouses, and to bury past dissensions in oblivion.

It was previous to this attempt being entered upon, and perhaps because it was contemplated, that the princess voluntarily underwent a very solemn ordeal,—if I may so speak of the, at least solemn, ceremony to which I here allude. The ceremony was as public as it could be rendered by the presence of part of the electoral family, and the great official dignitaries of the church and government. Before them, Sophia Dorothea partook of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour, and then made solemn protestation of her innocence, and of her unspotted faith towards the electoral prince, her husband. At the termination of this touching ceremony she was insulted by an incredulous

smile which she saw upon the face of Count von Platen; whereat the natural woman was moved within her to ask him, if his own excellent wife could take the same oath in attestation of her unbroken faithfulness to *him*.

The essay at reconciliation was marred, or was rendered impossible, by an attempt made to induce the electoral princess to confess that she had been guilty of sins of disobedience towards the expressed will of her consort. All endeavor in this direction was fruitless; and though grave men made it, it shows how very little they comprehended their delicate mission. The princess remained fixed in her desire to withdraw from Hanover; but when she was informed of the wound this would be to the feelings of the elector and electress, and that George Louis himself was heartily averse to it, she began to waver, and applied to her friends at Zell, among others to Bernstorf, the Hanoverian minister there, asking for counsel in this her great need.

Bernstorf, an ally of the von Platens, secretly advised her to insist upon leaving Hanover. He assured her, pledging his word for what he said, that she would find a happy asylum at Zell; that even her father, so long estranged from her, would receive her with open arms; and that in the adoption of such a step, alone, could she hope for happiness and peace during the remainder of her life.

Worse counsel could not have been given, but it was given exactly because it *was* the worst.

She was as untruthfully served by some of the ladies of her circle, who, while professing friendship and fidelity, were really the spies of her husband, and her husband's mistress. They were of that class of women who were especially bred for courts and court intrigues, and whose hopes of fortune rested upon their doing credit to their education. In some respect they resembled the deformed and monstrous inmates of the human menagerie of the Emperors of Mexico; hideous anomalies, regarded by the Aztecs as a suitable appendage of state, and dwarfed and twisted into hideousness by unnatural parents desirous to procure a provision for their offspring by thus qualifying them for a place in the royal museum.

As the princess not merely insisted upon quitting Hanover, but

firmly refused to acknowledge that she had been guilty of any wrong to her most guilty husband, a course was adopted by her enemies which, as they considered, would not merely punish her, but would transfer her possessions to her consort, without affecting the long projected union of Zell, after the duke's death, with the territory of Hanover. An accusation of adultery, even if it could be sustained, of which there was not the shadow of a chance, might, if carried out, and followed by a divorce, in some way affect the transfer of a dominion to Hanover, which transfer rested partly on the rights of the wife of the electoral prince. A divorce might destroy the ex-husband's claims; but he was well-provided with lawyers to watch and guard the case to an ultimate conclusion in his favor.

A consistorial court was formed, of a strangely mixed character, for it consisted of the chief ecclesiastical lawyers, and some civil authorities of Hanover and Zell. It had no other authority to warrant its proceedings than the command or sanction of the Elector, and the consent of the Duke of Zell, whose ill-feeling towards his child seemed to increase daily. The only charge laid against the princess before this anomalous court, was one of incompatibility of temper, added to some little failings of character; that is, of disposition, which two loving hearts, warmed by a mutual respect, might have adjusted in a few minutes by a brief explanation.

The court affected to attempt some such adjustment of the matter; but as the attempt was always based on another to drag from the princess a confession of her having, wittingly or unwittingly, given cause of offence to her husband, she continued firmly to refuse to place her consort in the right, by doing herself and her cause extremest wrong.

In the meantime, during an adjournment of the court, she withdrew to Lauenau. She was prohibited from repairing to Zell, but there was no longer any opposition made to her leaving the capital of the Electorate. She was, however, strictly prohibited from taking her children with her. Her parting from these was as painful a scene as can well be imagined, for she is said to have felt that she would never again be united with them. Her son, George Augustus, was then ten years of age, and her daughter, Sophia,

two years younger. The homage of these children was rendered to their mother long after their hearts had ceased to pay any to their father, beyond a mere conventional respect.

In her temporary retirement at Lauenau, she was permitted to enjoy very little repose. The friends of the electoral prince seem to have been anxious lest she should publish more than was yet known of the details of his private life. This fear alone can account for their anxiety, or professed anxiety for a reconciliation. The lawyers, singly or in couples, and now and then a leash of them together, went down to Lauenau to hold conference with her. They assailed her socially, scripturally, legally; they pointed out how salubrious was the discipline which subjected a wife to confess her faults. They read to her whole chapters from Corinthians, on the duties of married ladies, and asked her if she could be so obstinate and unorthodox as to disregard the injunctions of St. Paul. Finally, they quoted codes and pandects, to prove that a sentence might be pronounced against her under contumacy, and concluded by recommending her to trust to the mercy of the Crown Prince, if she would but cast herself upon his honor.

They were grave men; sage, learned, experienced men; crafty, cunning, far-seeing men; in all the circles of the empire there were not men more skilled in surmounting difficulties than these indefatigable men, who were all foiled by the simplicity and firmness of a mere child. "If I am guilty," said she, "I am unworthy of the prince. If I am innocent, he is unworthy of me!"

Here was a conclusion with which the sciolist, as she was accounted, utterly confounded the sages. They could not gainsay it, nor refute the logic by which it was arrived at, and which gave it force. They were "perplexed in the extreme," but neither social experience, nor scriptural reading, nor legal knowledge, afforded them weapons wherewith to beat down the simple defences behind which the pure princess had entrenched herself. They tried, tried repeatedly, and tried in vain. At the end of every trial she slowly and calmly enunciated the same conclusive and insuperable reply: —"If I am guilty I am unworthy of him. If I am innocent, he is unworthy of me!"

From this text she would not depart; and all the chicanery of

all the courts of Germany could not move her. "At least," said the luminaries of the law, as they took their way homewards, *re infectâ*, "at least, this woman may, of a surety, be convicted of obstinacy." We always stigmatize as obstinate those whom we cannot convince. It is the only, and the poor, triumph of the vanquished.

This triumph was achieved by the Consistory Court, the members of which, unable to prove the princess guilty of crime, were angry because she would not even confess to the commission of a fault; that is, of such a fault as should authorize her husband, covered with guilt triple-piled, to separate from her person, yet maintain present and future property over her estates.

The court, however, was a tribunal which did not embarrass itself much either about law or equity, and its decision, in December, 1694, that separation should be pronounced, on the ground of incompatibility of temper, surprised no one. The terms of the sentence were extraordinary, for they amounted to a decree of divorce, without expressly mentioning the fact. The judgment, wherein nothing was judged, conferred on the prince, George Louis, the right of marrying again, if he should be so minded, and could find a lady willing to be won. It, however, explicitly debarred the princess from entering into a second union. Not a word was written down against her alleging that she was criminal. The name of Königsmark was not even alluded to. Notwithstanding these facts, and that the husband was the really guilty party, while the utmost that can be said against the princess was that she may have been indiscreet; notwithstanding this, not only was he declared to be an exceedingly injured individual, but the poor lady, whom he held in his heart's hottest hate, was deprived of her property, possession of which was transferred to George Louis, in trust for the children; and the princess, endowed with an annual pension of some eight or ten thousand thalers, was condemned to close captivity in the castle of Ahlden, near Zell, with a retinue of domestics, whose office was to watch her actions, and a body of armed jailers, whose only duty was to keep the captive secure in her bonds.

Sophia Dorothea entered on her imprisonment with a calm, if not with a cheerful heart; certainly with more placidity and true

joy than George Louis felt, surrounded by his mistresses and all the pomp of the electoral state. All Germany is said to have been scandalized by the judgment delivered by the court. The illegality and the incompetency of the court from which it emanated were so manifest, that the sentence was looked upon as a mere wanton cruelty, carrying with it neither conviction nor lawful consequence. So satisfied was the princess' advocate on this point, that he requested her to give him a letter declaring him non-responsible for having so far recognized the authority of the court, as to have pleaded her cause before it! What is perhaps more singular still, is the doubt which long existed whether this court ever sat at all; and whether decree of separation or divorce was ever pronounced in the cause of Sophia Dorothea of Zell, and George Louis, Electoral Prince of Hanover.

Horace Walpole says, on this subject: "I am not acquainted with the laws of Germany relative to divorce or separation, nor do I know or suppose that despotism and pride allow the law to insist on much formality when a sovereign has reason or mind to get rid of his wife. Perhaps too much difficulty in untying the Gordian knot of matrimony, thrown in the way of an absolute prince, would be no kindness to the ladies, but might prompt him to use a sharper weapon, like that butchering husband, our Henry VIII. Sovereigns who narrow, or let out the law of God, according to their prejudices and passions, mould their own laws, no doubt, to the standard of their convenience. Genealogic purity of blood is the predominant folly of Germany; and the Code of Malta seems to have more force in the empire than the Ten Commandments. Thence was introduced that most absurd evasion of the indissolubility of marriage, espousals with the left hand, as if the Almighty had restrained his ordinance to one half of a man's person, and allowed a greater latitude to his left side than to his right, or pronounced the former more ignoble than the latter. The consciences both of princely and noble persons in Germany are quieted if the more plebeian side is married to one who would degrade the more illustrious moiety; but, as if the laws of matrimony had no reference to the children to be thence propagated, the children of a left-handed alliance are not entitled to inherit. Shocking conse-

quence of a senseless equivocation, that only satisfies pride, not justice, and calculated for an acquittal at the herald's office, not at the last tribunal.

"Separated the Princess (Sophia) Dorothea certainly was, and never admitted even to the nominal honors of her rank, being thenceforward always styled the Duchess of Halle. Whether divorced is problematic, at least to me, nor can I pronounce, as though it was generally believed, I am not certain that George espoused the Duchess of Kendal (Mdlle. von Schulemberg) with his left hand. But though German casuistry might allow a husband to take another wife with his left hand, because his legal wife had suffered her right hand to be kissed by a gallant, even Westphalian or Aulic counsellors could not have pronounced that such a momentary adieu constituted adultery; and, therefore, of a formal divorce I must doubt,—and there I must leave that case of conscience undecided until future search into the Hanoverian Chancery shall clear up a point of little real importance." Coxe, in his Memoirs of Walpole, says, on the other hand, very decidedly:—"George I., who never loved his wife, gave implicit credit to the account of her infidelity, as related by his father; consented to her imprisonment, and obtained from the ecclesiastical consistory a divorce, which was passed on the 20th of December, 1694."

The researches into the Chancery of Hanover, which Walpole left to posterity, appear to have been made, and the decree of the consistorial court which condemned Sophia Dorothea has been copied, and published. It is quoted in the Life of the Princess, published anonymously in 1845, and it is inserted below for the benefit of those who like to read history by the light of documents.

It has been said that such a decree could only have been purchased by rank bribery, which is likely enough; for the courts of Germany were so utterly corrupt that nothing could equal them in infamy,—except the corruption which prevailed in England. In the very year in which this decree is said to have been bought, bribery and corruption were corroding all ranks here, among ourselves. English officers and soldiers were left unpaid by the government, and allowed to exact subsistence money from the owners of the houses on whom they were quartered. The army

agents, even when provided with funds, detained the soldiers' pay, and forced the men to give extravagant premiums for the money doled out to them. In this very year, Colonel Hastings was cashiered for compelling his officers to purchase all their regimentals of him at an extravagant rate. Craggs, the contractor for clothing the army, was deprived of his office, and sent to the Tower, for refusing to exhibit his books; and Killegrew, Villars and Gee, commissioners for licensing hackney coaches, were ejected from their office, because they sold licenses which they were commissioned to grant without fee or reward. These punishments were inflicted by an indignant and pure House of Commons, which compelled Mr. Bird, an attorney, to go upon his knees, and ask pardon of the assembly for bribery, or for having been detected in awkwardly attempting to bribe certain members of the House. The senators who condemned were themselves corrupt; and in the dirty path of such corruption, Sir John Trevor, the Speaker, led the way. He was expelled for receiving a bribe of 1,000 guineas from the City of London "for passing the Orphan bill;" though men quite as corrupt were left unpunished for receiving vast sums of money from the East India Company, in return for facilitating some bills in which that body was interested. The method adopted by the House to cure the evil is a proof of the strabismic morality which prevailed. The commons resolved, "That whoever should discover any money, or other gratuity, given to any member of the House, for matters transacted in the House relating to the Orphans bill, or the East India Company, should (himself) have the indemnity of the House for such guilt." When immorality was so universal in England that Parliament could only attempt to cure it in its own body by encouraging knaves to purchase exemption from penalty by turning informers, we must not be too pharisaically severe upon the owners of the names affixed to the subjoined decree, even if it *were* purchased by what Mr. Paul Clifford's Bagshot friend was wont to call "the oil of palms." It deserves to be remembered that Horace Walpole, who knew something of the history of corruption, said of the Germans of his and his father's time, not only that they were a

civil and agreeable people, but, as he believed, "one of the least corrupted nations in Europe."

"In the matrimonial suit of the illustrious Prince George Louis, Crown Prince of Hanover, against his consort, the illustrious Princess Sophia Dorothea, we, constituted president and judges of the Matrimonial Court of the Electorate and Duchy of Brunswick-Lunenburg, declare and pronounce judgment after attempts have been tried and have failed, to settle the matter amicably, and in accordance with the documents and verbal declarations of the Princess, and other detailed circumstances, we agree that her continued denial of matrimonial duty and cohabitation is well founded and consequently that it is to be considered as an intentional desertion. In consequence whereof, we consider, sentence, and declare the ties of matrimony to be entirely dissolved and annulled. Since, in similar cases of desertion, it has been permitted to the innocent party to re-marry, which the other is forbidden, the same judicial power will be exercised in the present instance, in favor of his Serene Highness the Crown Prince.

"Published in the Consistorial Court at Hanover, December 28th, 1694.

(Signed) "PHILLIP VON BURSCHE.
FRANCIS EICHFELD (Pastor).
ANTHONY GEORGE HILDBERG.
GUSTAVUS MOLAN.
GERHARDT ART.
BERNHARD SPILKEN.
ERYTHROPAL.
DAVID RUPERTUS.
H. L. HATTORF."

The work from which the above document is extracted, furnishes also the following, as the copy of the letter written by the Princess, at the request of the legal conductor of her case, as "security from proceedings in relation to his connexion with her affairs:"—

"As we have now, after being made acquainted with the sentence, given it proper consideration, and resolved not to offer any opposition to it, our solicitor must act accordingly, and is not to

act or proceed any further in this matter. For the rest, we hereby declare that we are gratefully content with the conduct of our aforesaid solicitor of the Court, Thies, and that by this we free him from all responsibility regarding these transactions.

(Signed) "SOPHIA DOROTHEA."

"Lauenau, December 31, 1694."

By this last document, it would seem that the Hof-Rath Theis would have denied the competency of the court, had he been permitted to do so; and that he was so convinced of its illegality, as to require a written prohibition from asserting the same, and acknowledgment of exemption from all responsibility, before he would feel satisfied that he had accomplished his duty towards his illustrious client.

Four months previous to the publication of the sentence of the Consistorial Court, the two brothers, the Elector of Hanover and the Duke of Zell, had agreed, by an enactment, that the unhappy marriage between the cousins should be dissolved. The enactment provided for the means whereby this end was to be achieved, and for the disposal of the princess during the progress of the case. The anonymous author of the biography of 1845, then proceeds to state that,—"It was therein specified that her domestics should take a particular oath, and that the princess should enjoy an annual income of eight thousand thalers (exclusive of the wages of her household), to be increased one half on the death of her father, with a further increase of six thousand thalers on her attaining the age of forty years. It was provided that the castle of Ahlden should be her permanent residence, where she was to remain well guarded. The domain of Wilhelmsburg, near Hamburg, was, at the death of the Duke of Zell, to descend to the prince, son of the Princess Sophia Dorothea—the Crown Prince, however, during his own life, retaining the revenues; but should the grandson die before his father, the property would then, on payment of a stipulated sum, be inherited by the successor in the government of the son of the elector. By a further arrangement, the mother of the princess was to possess Wienhausen, with an annual income of twelve thousand thalers, secured on the estates Schernebeck, Garze,

and Bluettingen; the castle at Lunenburg to be allowed as her residence, from the commencement of her widowhood."

Never was so much care taken to secure property on one side, and the person on the other. The contracting parties appear to have been afraid lest the prisoner should ever have an opportunity of appealing against the wrong of which she was made the victim; and her strait imprisonment was but the effect of that fear. That nothing might be neglected to make assurance doubly sure, and to deprive her of any help she might hope hereafter to receive at the hands of a father, whose heart might possibly be made to feel his own injustice and his daughter's sorrows, the Duke of Zell was induced to promise that he would neither see nor hold communication with the daughter he had repudiated.

The oath to be taken by the household, or rather by the personal attendants, counts and countesses in waiting, and persons of similar rank, was stringent and illustrative of the importance attached to the safe-keeping of the prisoner. It was to the effect, "that nothing should be wanting to prevent anticipated intrigues; and for the perfect security of the place fixed as a residence for the Princess Sophia Dorothea, in order to maintain tranquillity, and to prevent any opportunity occurring to an enemy, for undertaking or imagining anything which might cause a division in the illustrious family."

Whatever correspondence may have been held by letter between Sophia Dorothea and Königsmark, none was ever forthcoming to accuse or absolve. It is indeed said that the letters of the princess to the count were saved by the valet of the latter, and placed in the hands of the Löwenhaupt family in Sweden, to a member of which a younger sister of Königsmark was married; and that among the archives of the Swedish family they are still preserved. This is a very apocryphal story, and not less apocryphal is the assertion that some score of letters, allegedly from the count to the princess, were discovered by George Louis, and copies of them sent to the Duke of Zell. No mention was made of such letters at the period of the trial, as it may be called, of Sophia Dorothea, and though documents, purporting to be portions of this epistolary correspondence between Königsmark and the princess have been made

public, they are entirely unauthenticated, bear neither date, name, nor address, and are no doubt very poor forgeries, which may have been committed by the author, to try his skill, but which could have brought as little profit to himself as pleasure to his readers.

Shortly after the sudden disappearance of the count, his mother and sisters, residing at Hamburg, made application to be put in possession of some property of their deceased relative, which had been deposited by him in the hands of a banker of that city. The latter person, however, naturally enough declined to surrender his trust, until sufficient proof had been adduced of the death of the alleged late owner of the property. The affair lingered for a long time, and its prosecution was productive of some important consequences. In the course of that prosecution, the youngest sister of the count, the Countess Maria Aurora, repaired to Dresden to solicit the aid of the Elector of Saxony, Frederick Augustus, that unworthy prince who was subsequently the unworthy King of Poland. The elector was struck with the beauty of his fair petitioner, and appears to have driven a hard bargain with the handsome but not too honest suppliant. She became, after a decent show of resistance, first on the roll of the elector's "favorites," and in 1696, she gave birth to that famous Maurice de Saxe, who fought so well, spelled so ill, and loved so lightly: who possessed no excellence save bravery, was entirely destitute of all virtuous principle, and is the ancestor, most boasted of, by his clever descendant, Madame "George Sand."

From the period of the birth of Maurice, the Countess Aurora fell, or rose, from the condition of "favorite," to that of counsellor and friend. Even Augustus's poor consort is said to have looked with something of patience and even regard upon the only one of the mistresses of her wretched husband who treated her with respect. But what a condition must mark that household, wherein a neglected wife is reduced to the degradation of feeling grateful for little attentions from the hands of her husband's mistress! To such degradation Sophia Dorothea would never submit.

The Countess Aurora had been so triumphant, and yet so triumphed over, when a suppliant to Augustus, that the elector, in 1702, when reduced to the most miserable extremity by the victo-

rious Charles XII., dispatched her upon the diplomatic mission of softening that monarch's not very susceptible heart. The ambassadress was one of those women who fancy that they can overcome any one who, while listening to their power of tongue, ventures to look into their eyes. By magic of the latter, and of speech made up of very persuasive arguments, Aurora fondly hoped to touch the sensibilities that were supposed to be buttoned-up beneath the unbrushed coat of the stoical Charles. The latter, distrusting his own possible weakness, and dreading the lady's united powers, showed himself a true hero by avoiding the temptation thrown in his way, and when the countess solicited an audience he stoutly refused to see her. "Well!" remarked the blushing Aurora, striving at the same time to wreath the blush of vexation with the sunniest of her smiles, "I am the only person on whom the King of Sweden ever turned his back!"

This want of diplomatic success laid her more open than she had ever been before to the intrigues of her more brazen but less intellectual rivals; and Maria Aurora was dismissed from the court of her so-called "protector." It is good that vice should be exposed to such downfall, and that women who, like the lovely Aurora, can plead guilty to but a single fault, should be subject to a treatment which is severe discipline to themselves, and profitable example—if their sisters would but only condescend to benefit by it.

Aurora in her retirement more nearly resembled Madame de la Vallière than Heloise. She proved a noble mother to her superb and graceless son, and she did not pass her time in the composition of ardent epistolary reminiscences of guilty pleasures, wherein the expressed contempt for by-gone dear delights cannot conceal the writer's regret that they were no longer to be enjoyed. Aurora finally retired to the Protestant Abbey of Quedlinburg, in what then was Lower Saxony, and beguiled her long leisure hours by meditations, that would do honor to Krumacher, and by hymns, far more spiritual and sensible than those heavenly songs of the quietist Madame Guyon, and which read so very much like sprightly strains "writ" by Dan Prior, and "set" by mellifluous Travers.

The ladies of the abbey still exhibit, with authorized pride, the

manuscript collection of psalms and hymns, the composition of which shows that their authoress had warmer love for Heaven than she ever had for man.

Her position here was one in which a weaker nature and a less sincere person would have been liable to be surrendered to the exercise of much worldly pride. Quedlinburg on the Bode, now in Prussia, was an imperial free city, in which emperors had kept their state, the Church held councils, and the city imprisoned its counts in oaken cages. The nunnery of the abbey was founded by Matilda, the wife of the Emperor Henry the Fowler. The abbesses resided in the castle, which dominates above the town, and originally they were *ex-officio* princesses of the empire, independent of all spiritual sovereignty save that of the Pope, possessors of a vote in the Diet, and a seat on the bench of Rhenish bishops. The entire town, including all the convents, nunneries, and adjacent extensive domains, belonged to the abbess, who counted among her vassals as many nobles of high rank as, among her nuns, ladies of royal and noble birth. When Aurora of Königsmark became prioress of the community, the old splendor had been somewhat diminished, and what was left was a trifle tarnished too. The feudal sovereignty departed from it at the Reformation, when the abbess adopted the Lutheran faith, and lost the greater part of the abbey estates. Still, in Aurora's time, there was much of splendor left; its last spark went out in 1802, when the King of Prussia sequestrated the convent, and converted it, in part, into a school.

Had Aurora been a weak woman, her pride would have lived here with her beauty; the former died early, the latter lived with her to the end. She was superb, even throughout her declining life, and when she died, in 1725, there passed away to her account a woman, not without sin, but also not without a sincere repentance.

Reader, and especially young reader,—if thou shouldst ever visit Quedlinburg, you may see there a better sermon than thou art likely to hear. Descend with the good-natured and willing sexton into the vault below the *Stifter Kirche*. On the right side of the vault there is a coffin, the lid of which he will remove with

a singular alacrity. Look into it, and learn from what thou lookest on. That poor, brown, dusty mummy is all that remains of the most beautiful woman of her time. That wretched but suggestive ruin once tabernacled the "immortal spark" which yet lives,—but where? There is a sermon in the sight, and deep instruction in the thought.

We must leave both, however, to turn to another lady, who, as it is believed, sinned less but suffered longer.

CHAPTER IX.

PRISON AND PALACE.

THE Castle of Ahlden is situated on the small and sluggish stream, the Aller; and seems to guard, as it once oppressed, the little village sloping at its feet. This edifice was appointed as the prison-place of Sophia Dorothea; and from the territory she acquired a title, that of Duchess of Ahlden. She was mockingly called sovereign lady of a locality where all were free but herself!

On looking over the list of the household which was formed for the service, if the phrase be one that may be admitted, of her captivity, the first thing that strikes us as singular, is the presence of "three cooks,"—a triad of "ministers of the mouth" for one poor imprisoned lady!

The singularity vanishes when we find that around this encaged Duchess there circled a really extensive household, and there lived a world of ceremony, of which no one was so much the slave as she was. Her captivity, in its commencement, was decked with a certain sort of splendor,—about which *she*, who was its object, cared by far the least. There was a military governor of the castle, gentlemen and ladies in waiting; spies all. Among the honester servants of the house, were a brace of pages and as many valets, a dozen female domestics, and fourteen footmen, who had to undergo the intense labor of doing very little in a very lengthened space of time. To supply the material wants of these, the three cooks, one confectioner, a baker, and a butler, were provided. There

was, besides, a military force, consisting of infantry and artillery. It must have cost the governor as little trouble and as much pride to manœuvre, as the army of Thraso cost that valiant captain, when he laid such glorious siege to the strong fortress of that exemplary lady, Thaïs, in order to recover Pamphila. Altogether, there must have been work enough for the three cooks.

The forms of a court were long maintained, although only on a small scale. The duchess held her little levées, and the local authorities, clergy, and neighboring nobility and gentry, offered her such respect as could be manifested by paying her visits on certain appointed days. These visits, however, were always narrowly watched by the officials, whose office lay in such service, and was hid beneath a show of duty.

The successive governors of the castle were men of note, and their presence betokened the importance attached to the person and safe-keeping of the captive. During the first three years of her imprisonment, the post of governor was held by the Hof Grand-Marshal von Bothmar. He was succeeded by the Count Bergest, who enjoyed his equivocal dignity of gaoler-governor about a quarter of a century. During the concluding years of the imprisonment of Sophia, her seneschal was a relative of one of her judges, Georg von Busche.

These men behaved to their prisoner with as much courtesy as they dared to show; nor was her captivity a severe one, in anything but the actual deprivation of liberty, and of all intercourse with those she best loved, until after the first few years. The escape of Mdlle. Knesebeck from her place of confinement appears to have given the husband of Sophia Dorothea an affectionate uneasiness, which he evidenced by giving orders that his wife's safe-keeping should be maintained with greater stringency.

From the day of the issuing of that order, she was never allowed to walk, even in the garden of the castle, without a guard. She never rode out, or drove through the neighboring woods, without a strong escort. Even parts of the castle were prohibited from being intruded upon by her; and so much severity was shown in this respect, that when, on one occasion, a fire broke out in the edifice, to escape from which she must have traversed a gallery which she

was forbidden to pass, she stood short of the proscribed limit, her jewel-box in her arms, and herself in almost speechless terror, but refusing to advance beyond the prohibited line, until permission reached her from the proper authority.

On such a prisoner, time must have hung especially heavy. She had, however, many resources, and made every hour have its occupation. She was the land-steward of her little ducal estate, and performed all the duties of that office. She kept a diary of her thoughts as well as actions; and if this be extant it would be well worthy of being published. Her correspondence, during the period she was permitted to write, was extensive. Every day she had interviews with, and gave instructions to, each of her servants, from the chief of the three cooks, downwards. With this, she was as personally active in charity as the good Duke de Penthièvre and his secretary Florian, whose very sport it was to vie with each other in discovering the greater number of objects worthy of being relieved. Finally, she was the Lady Bountiful of the district, laying out half her income in charitable uses for the good of her neighbors, and, as Boniface said of the good lady of Lichfield, "curing more people in and about the place within ten years, than the doctors had killed in twenty; and that's a bold word." Of George Louis it may be said, what Cherry's thirsty father said of Lady Bountiful's son, Squire Sullen, "that he was a man of a great estate, who valued nobody."

There was a church in the village, which was in rather ruinous condition when her captivity commenced, but this she put in thorough repair, decorated it handsomely, presented it with an organ,—and was refused permission to attend there, after it had been re-opened for public service. For her religious consolation, a chaplain had been provided, and she was never trusted, even under guard, to join with the villagers in common worship in the church of the village below. In this respect, a somewhat royal etiquette was observed. The chaplain read prayers to the garrison and household in one room, to which the princess and her ladies listened rather than therewith joined, placed as they were in an adjacent room, where they could hear without being seen.

With no relative was she allowed to hold never so brief an

interview; and not even her mother was permitted to soften by her presence for an hour, the rigid and ceremonious captivity of her luckless daughter. Mother and child were allowed to correspond at stated periods, their letters passing open; but the princess herself was as much cut off from her own children, as if these had been dead and entombed. The little prince and princess were expressly ordered to utterly forget that they had a mother,—her very name on their lips would have been condemned as a grievous fault. The boy, George Augustus, was in many points of character similar to his father, and, accordingly, being commanded to forget his mother, he obstinately bore her in memory; and when he was told that he would never have an opportunity afforded him to see her, mentally resolved to make one for himself.

It is but justice to the old elector to say that in his advanced years, when pleasant sins were no longer profitable to him, he gave them up; and when the youngest of his mistresses had ceased to be attractive, he began to think such appendages little worth the hanging on to his electoral dignity. For, ceasing to love and live with his "favorites," he did not the more respect, or hold closer intercourse with, his wife,—a course about which the Electress Sophia troubled herself very little. The elector, in short, was very much like the gentleman in the epigram, who said:—

I've lost my mistress, horse, and wife,
And when I think on human life,
'Tis well that it's no worse!
My mistress had grown lean and old,
My wife was ugly and a scold;—
I'm sorry for my horse!

In his later days, Ernest Augustus, having little regard for his wife or favorites, began to have much for the good things of the earth,—a superabundance of which, as Johnson reminded Garrick, makes death so terrible. When he ceased to be under the influence of the disgraced Countess von Platen, he began to be sensible of some sympathy for his daughter-in-law, Sophia. He softened in some degree the rigor of her imprisonment, and corresponded with her by letter; a correspondence which inspired her with hope that her freedom might result from it. This hope was,

however, frustrated by the death of Ernest Augustus, on the 20th of January, 1698. From that time, the rigor of her imprisonment was increased fourfold.

If the heart of her old uncle began to incline towards her as he increased in years, it is not to be wondered at that the heart of her aged father melted towards her as time began to press heavily upon him. But it was the weakest of hearts allied to the weakest of minds. In the comfortlessness of his great age, he sought to be comforted by loving her whom he had insanely and unnaturally oppressed—the sole child of his heart and house. In his weakness he addressed himself to that tool of Hanover at Zell, the minister Bernstorf; and that individual so terrified the poor old man by details of the ill consequences that might ensue if the wrath of the new elector, George Louis, were aroused by the interference of the Duke of Zell, in matters which concerned the elector and his wife, that the old man, feeble in mind and body, yielded, and, for a time at least, left his daughter to her fate. He thought to compensate for the wrong which he inflicted on her under the impulse of his evil genius, Bernstorf, by adding a codicil to his will, wherein the name of his daughter is mentioned with an implied love which reminds one of the "*and* Peter," after the denial, and which told the other Apostles that love divine had not perished because of one poor mortal offence.

By this codicil he bequeathed to the daughter whom he had wronged, all that it was in his power to leave, in jewels, moneys, and lands; but liberty he could *not* give her, and so his love could do little more than try to lighten the fetters which he had aided to put on. But there was a short-lived joy in store, both for child and parents. The fetters were to be cast aside for a brief season, and the poor captive was to enjoy an hour of home, of love, and of liberty.

The last year of the seventeenth century (1700) brought with it an accession of greatness to the electoral family of Hanover, inasmuch as in that year a bill was introduced into parliament, and accepted by that body, which fixed the succession to the crown of England after the Princess Anne, and in default of such princess dying without heirs of her own body, in the person of

Sophia of Hanover. William III. had been very desirous for the introduction of this bill, but under various pretexts it had been deferred, the commonest business being allowed to take precedence of it, until the century had nearly expired. The limitations to the royal action, which formed a part of the bill as recommended in the report of the committee, were little to the king's taste; for they not only affected his employment of foreign troops in England, but shackled his own free and frequent departures from the kingdom. It was imagined by many that these limitations were designed by the leaders in the cabinet, in order to raise disputes between the two houses, by which the bill might be lost. Such is Burnet's report, and he sarcastically adds thereto, that when much time had been spent in preliminaries, and it was necessary to come to the nomination of the person who should be named presumptive heir next to Queen Anne, the office of doing so was confided to "Sir John Bowles, who was then disordered in his senses, and soon after quite lost them." "He was," says Burnet, "set on by the same party to be the first that should name the Electress-dowager of Brunswick, which seemed done to make it less serious when moved by such a person." So that the solemn question of naming the heir to a throne was intrusted to an idiot, who, by the forms of the house, was appointed chairman of the committee for the conduct of the bill. Burnet adds, that the "thing," as he calls it, was "still put off for many weeks at every time that it was called for; the motion was entertained with coldness, which served to heighten the jealousy; the committee once or twice sat upon it, but all the members ran out of the house with so much indecency, that the contrivers seemed ashamed of this management; there were seldom fifty or sixty at the committee, yet in conclusion it passed, and was sent up to the Lords." Great opposition was expected from the peers, and many of their lordships designedly absented themselves from the discussion. The opposition was slight, and confined to the Marquis of Normanby, who spoke, and the Lords Huntingdon, Plymouth, Guildford, and Jefferies, who protested, against the bill. Burnet affirms, that "those who wished well to the Act were glad to have it passed any way, and so would not examine the limitations that were in it,

and which they thought might be considered afterwards. "We reckoned it," says Burnet, "a great point carried that we had now a law on our side for a Protestant successor." The law was stoutly protested against by the Duchess of Savoy, grand-daughter of Charles I. The protest did not trouble the king, who despatched the act to the electress-dowager and the Garter to her son, by the hands of the Earl of Macclesfield.

The earl was a fitting bearer of so costly and significant a present. He had been attached to the service of the mother of Sophia, and was highly esteemed by the electress-dowager herself. The earl had no especial commission beyond that which enjoined him to deliver the act, nor was he dignified by any official appellation. He was neither ambassador, legate, plenipotentiary, nor envoy. He had with him, however, a most splendid suite; which was in some respects strangely constituted, for among its members was the famous, or infamous, Janius Junius Toland, whose book in support of rationality as applied to religion, and in denial that there was any mystery whatever in the Christian dispensation, had been publicly burnt by the hangman, in Ireland.

The welcome of this body of gentlemen was a right royal one. It may be said that the electoral family had neither cared for the dignity now rendered probable for them, nor in any way toiled or intrigned to bring it within their grasp; but it is certain that their joy was great when the Earl of Macclesfield appeared on the frontier of the electorate with the act in one hand and the garter in the other. He and his suite were met there with a welcome of extraordinary magnificence, betokening ample appreciation of the double gift he brought with him. He himself seemed elevated by his mission, for he was in his general deportment little distinguished by courtly manners or by ceremonious bearing; but it was observed that, on this occasion, nothing could have been more becoming than the way in which he acquitted himself of an office which brought a whole family within view of succession to a royal and powerful throne.

On reaching the confines of the electorate, the members of the deputation from England were received by personages of the highest official rank, who not only escorted them to the capital, but

treated them on the way with a liberality so profuse as to be the wonder of all beholders. They were not allowed to disburse a farthing from their own purses; all they thought fit to order was paid for by the electoral government, by whose orders they were lodged in the most commodious palace in Hanover, where as much homage was paid them as if each man had been a Kaiser in his own person. The Hanoverian gratitude went so far, that not only were the ambassador and suite treated as favored guests, and that not alone of the princess but of the people,—the latter being commanded to refrain from taking payment from any of them, for any article of refreshment they required,—but for many days all English travellers visiting the city were made equally free of its caravansaries, and were permitted to enjoy all that the inns could afford, without being required to pay for the enjoyment.

The delicate treatment of the electoral government extended even to the servants of the earl and his suite. It was thought that to require them to dine upon the fragments of their master's banquets would be derogatory to the splendor of the hospitality of the House of Hanover, and an insult to the domestics who followed in the train of the earl. The government accordingly disbursed half-a-crown a day to the liveried followers, and considered such a "composition" as glorious to the reputation of the electoral house. The menials were even emancipated from service during the sojourn of the deputation in Hanover, and the elector's numerous servants waited upon the English visitors, zealously throughout the day, but with most splendor in the morning, when they were to be seen hurrying to the bed-rooms of the different members of the suite, bearing with them silver coffee and tea pots, and other requisites for breakfast, which meal appears to have been lazily indulged in, as if the legation had been habitually wont to "make a night of it,"—in bed. And there *was* a good deal of hard drinking on these occasions, but all at the expense of the husband of Sophia Dorothea, who, in her castle of Ahlden, was not even aware of that increase of honor which had fallen upon her consort, and in which she had a right to share.

For those who were, the next day, ill or indolent, there were the ponderous state coaches to carry them whithersoever they

would go. The most gorgeous of the fêtes given on this occasion, was on the evening of the day on which the Act was solemnly presented to the electress-dowager. Hanover, famous as it was for its balls, had never seen so glorious a Terpsichorean festival as marked this particular night. At the balls in the old elector's time, Sophia Dorothea used to shine, first in beauty and in grace, but now her place was ill supplied by the not fair and quite graceless Mademoiselle von Schulemberg. The supper that followed was Olympian in its profusion, wit, and magnificence. This was at a time when to be sober was to be respectable, but when to be drunk was not to be ungentlemanly. Consequently we find Toland, who wrote an account of the achievements of the day, congratulating himself and readers by stating that, although it was to be expected that in so large and so jovial a party there would be some who would be even more ecstatic than the occasion and the company warranted, yet that, in truth, the number of those who were guilty of excess was but small. Even Lord Mohun kept himself sober, and to the end was able to converse as clearly and intelligibly as Lord Saye and Sele, and his friend "my Lord Tunbridge." With what degree of lucidity these noble gentlemen talked, we are not told, so that we can hardly judge of the measure of Lord Mohun's sobriety. That he was not very drunk, seems to Toland a thing to be thankful for, seeing that it had long been his custom to be so, until of late, when he had delighted the prudent by forswearing sack and living cleanly.

This day of presentation of the Act, and of the festival in honor thereof, was one of the greatest days which Hanover had ever seen. Every one wore a face of joy, at least so we collect from Toland's description of what he saw, and from which description we cull a few paragraphs by way of picture of scene and players. Speaking of the mother-in-law of Sophia Dorothea, he says:—"The electress is three-and-seventy years old, which she bears so wonderfully well, that had I not many vouchers, I should scarce dare venture to relate it. She has ever enjoyed extraordinary health, which keeps her still very vigorous, of a cheerful countenance, and a merry disposition. She steps as firm and erect as any young lady, has not one wrinkle in her face, which is still very

agreeable, nor one tooth out of her head, and reads without spectacles, as I have often seen her do, letters of a small character, in the dusk of the evening. She is as great a writer as our late queen (Mary,) and you cannot turn yourself in the palace, without meeting some monument of her industry, all the chairs of the presence-chamber being wrought with her own hands. The ornaments of the altar in the electoral chapel are all of her work. She bestowed the same favor on the Protestant abbey, or college, of Lockurn, with a thousand other instances, fitter for your lady to know than for yourself. She is the most constant and greatest walker I ever knew, never missing a day, if it proves fair, for one or two hours, and often more, in the fine garden at Herrenhausen. She perfectly tires all those of her court that attend her in that exercise, but such as have the honor to be entertained by her in discourse. She has been long admired by all the learned world as a woman of incomparable knowledge in divinity, philosophy, history, and the subjects of all sorts of books, of which she has read a prodigious quantity. She speaks five languages so well, that, by her accent, it might be a dispute which of them was her first. They are Low Dutch, German, French, Italian, and English, which last she speaks as truly and easily as any native; which to me is a matter of amazement, whatever advantages she might have in her youth by the conversation of her mother; for though the late king's (William's) mother was likewise an Englishwoman, of the same royal family, though he had been more than once in England before the Revolution; though he was married there, and his court continually full of many of that nation, yet he could never conquer his foreign accent. But, indeed, the electress is so entirely English in her person, in her behavior, in her humor, and in all her inclinations, that naturally she could not miss of anything that peculiarly belongs to our land. She was ever glad to see Englishmen, long before the Act of Succession. She professes to admire our form of government, and understands it mighty well, yet she asks so many questions about families, customs, laws, and the like, as sufficiently demonstrate her profound wisdom and experience. She has a deep veneration for the Church of England, without losing affection or charity for any other sort of Protestants, and

appears charmed with the moderate temper of our present bishops and other of our learned clergy, especially for their approbation of the liberty allowed by law to Protestant Dissenters. She is adored for her goodness among the inhabitants of the country, and gains the hearts of all strangers by her unparalleled affability. No distinction is ever made in her court concerning the parties into which Englishmen are divided, and whereof they carry the effects and impressions with them whithersoever they go, which makes others sometimes uneasy, as well as themselves. There it is enough that you are an Englishman, nor can you ever discover by your treatment which are better liked, the Whigs or the Tories. These are the instructions given to all the servants, and they take care to execute them with the utmost exactness. I was the first who had the honor of kneeling and kissing her hand on account of the Act of Succession; and she said, among other discourse, that she was afraid the nation had already repented their choice of an old woman, but that she hoped none of her posterity would give her any reasons to grow weary of their dominion. I answered, that the English had too well considered what they did, to change their minds so soon, and they still remembered they were never so happy as when they were last under a woman's government. Since that time, sir," adds the courtly but unorthodox Toland to the "Minister of State in Holland," to whom his letter is addressed, "we have a further confirmation of this truth by the glorious administration of Queen Anne."

Such is a picture, rather "loaded," as an artist might say, of the mother-in-law of the prisoner of Ahlden. The record would be imperfect if it were not accompanied by another "counterfeit presentment—" that of her son.

At the period when Toland accompanied the Earl of Macclesfield to Hanover, with the Act of Succession, the most important personage at that court, next to the electress, the *Regina designata Britanniarum*, was her son, Prince George Louis, the husband of Sophia Dorothea. Toland describes him as "a proper, middle-sized, well-proportioned man, of a genteel address, and good appearance;" but he adds, that his highness "is reserved, and therefore speaks little, but judiciously." George Louis, like

"Monseigneur" at Versailles, cared for nothing but hunting. "He is not to be exceeded," says Toland, "in his zeal against the intended universal monarchy of France, and so is most hearty for the common cause of Europe," for the very good reason, that therein "his own is so necessarily involved." Toland, in the humor to praise everything, adds, that George Louis understood the constitution of England better than any "foreigner" he had ever met with; a very safe remark, for our constitution was ill understood abroad; and even had the theoretical knowledge of George Louis been ever so correct, his practice with our constitution betrayed such ignorance that Toland's assertion may be taken only *quantum valuit*, for what it is worth. "Though," says the writer just named, "though he be well versed in the art of war, and of invincible courage, having often exposed his person to great dangers in Hungary, in the Morea, on the Rhine, and in Flanders, yet he is naturally of peaceable inclination; which mixture of qualities is agreed, by the experience of all ages, to make the best and most glorious princes. He is a perfect man of business, exactly regular in the economy of his revenues," (which he never was of those of England, seeing that he outran his liberal allowance, and coolly asked the parliament to pay his debts,) "reads all dispatches himself at first hand, writes most of his own letters, and spends a considerable part of his time about such occupations, in his closet, and with his ministers."

Toland, however, was afraid he had not sufficiently gilded over that sullen reserve in the character of the husband of Sophia Dorothea, which alone was sufficient to render him unpopular. "I hope," he says, "that none of our countrymen will be so injudicious as to think his reservedness the effect of sullenness or pride; nor mistake that for state, which really proceeds from modesty, caution and deliberation; for he is very affable to such as accost him, and expects that others should speak to him first, which is the best information I could have from all about him, and I partly know to be true by experience."

Then, we have a trait in the electoral character which was not to be found subsequently in the king; "for," says the hanger-on to Lord Macclesfield's ambassadorial cloak, "as to what I said of

his frugality in laying out the public money, I need not give a more particular proof than that all the expenses of his court, as to eating, drinking, fire, candles, and the like, are duly paid every Saturday night; the officers of his army receive their pay every month, so likewise his envoys in every part of Europe; and all the officers of his household, with the rest that are on the civil list, are cleared off every half year." We are then assured that his administration was equable, mild, and prudent,—a triple assertion, which his own life, and that of his hardly-used wife, flatly denied. Toland, however, will have it, in his "lively sense of favors to come," that there never existed a prince who was so ardently beloved by his subjects. On this point the "Petit Roi d' Yvetot" of Beranger sinks into comparative unpopularity. Hanover itself is said to be without division or faction, and all Hanoverians as being in a condition of ecstasy at the Solomon-like rectitude and jurisdiction of his very serene highness. But it must be remembered, that all this is said by a man who never condescended to remember that George Louis had a wife. He is entirely oblivious of the captive consort of the elector, but he can afford to express admiration for the elector's mistresses. He describes Madame Kielmansegge, the daughter of the Countess von Platen, and who occupied near the prince a station similar to that which her mother held near the prince's father, as a woman of sense and wit; and of Mademoiselle Schulemberg, he says that she is especially worthy of the rank she enjoys, and that "in the opinion of others, as well as mine, she is a lady of extraordinary merit!"—such merit as distinguished the niece of the governor of the Philippine Islands, who, under the mask of attachment, robbed Gil Blas of his diamond ring.

There is something suggestive in much of what is here set down. A lunatic proposed that Sophia of Hanover should succeed to the throne of England; and the hand of that lady, who denied the apostolic succession of bishops, and sneered at the episcopacy, was first kissed, when the Act of Succession was presented to her, by an infidel, the son of a Romish priest, whose book against the mysteries of Christianity had been burned in the streets of Dublin by the hands of the hangman. This is historically, and not satirically, set down. Some at the time, thought it ominous of evil conse-

quences, but we who live to see the consequences, may learn therefrom to disregard omens. But whatever may be said upon this point, there only remains to be added, that the legation left Hanover, loaded with presents. The earl received a portrait of the electress, with an electoral crown in diamonds, by way of mounting to the frame. George Louis bestowed upon him a gold basin and ewer,—no ill present to the native of a country whose people were distinguished, to a later period than this, as being the only civilized people who sat down to meat without previous ablution, even of the hands. Gold medals and snuff-boxes were showered among the other members. The chaplain, Dr. Sandys, was especially honored by rich gifts in medals and books. He was the first who ever read the service of our Church in the presence of the electress. She joined in it with apparent fervor, and admired it generally; but when a hint was conveyed to her that it might be well were she to introduce it in place of the Calvinistic form used in her chapel, as of the Lutheran in that of the elector, she shook her head, with a smile; said that there was no difference between the three forms, in essentials, and that episcopacy was merely the established form in England. She thought for the present she would "let well alone." And it was done accordingly!

In the year 1705, the English Parliament passed an Act for naturalizing the Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess-Dowager of Hanover, and the issue of her body. This was an Act, therefore, which made an Englishman of George Louis. It was not, however, in honor of such an event that a short season of freedom was granted to the prisoner of Ahlden.

In the year last mentioned, the war was raging which France was carrying on for the purpose of extending her limits and influence, and which England and her allies had entered into in order to resist such aggression, and restore that terribly oscillating matter—the balance of European power. The Duke of Marlborough had, at the prayer of the Dutch States, left the banks of the Moselle, in order to help Holland, menaced on the side of Liege by a strong French force. Our great duke left General D'Aubach at Treves to secure the magazines which the English and Dutch had laid up there; but upon the approach of Marshal Villars, D'Aubach

destroyed the magazines and abandoned Treves, of which the French immediately took possession. This put an end to all the schemes which had been laid for attacking France on the side of the Moselle, where her frontiers were but weak, and carried her confederates back to Flanders, where, as the old-fashioned chronicler, Salmon, remarks, "they yearly threw away thousands of brave fellows against stone walls." Thereupon, Hanover became menaced. On this, Horace Walpole has something in point:

"As the genuine wife was always detained in her husband's power, he seems not to have wholly dissolved their union; for, on the approach of the French army towards Hanover, during Queen Anne's reign, the Duchess of Halle (Ahlden) was sent home to her father and mother, who doted on their only child, and did retain her for a whole year, and did implore, though in vain, that she might continue to reside with them."

Of the incidents of this second separation nothing is known, but conjecture may well supply all its grief and pain. It would seem, however, as if some of the restrictions were taken off from the rules by which the captive was held. There was no prohibition of intercourse with the parents; for the Duke of Zell had resolved on proceeding to visit his daughter, but only deferred his visit until the conclusion of a grand hunt, in which he was anxious to take part. He went; and between fatigue, exposure to inclement weather, and neglect on his return, he became seriously ill, rapidly grew worse, died on the 28th of August, 1705, and by his death gave the domains of a dukedom to Hanover, and deprived his daughter of a newly-acquired friend.

The death of the Duke of Zell, if it caused profit to Hanover, was also followed by honor to Bernstorf. The services of that official were so agreeable to George Louis that he appointed him to the post of prime minister of Hanover, and at the same time made him a count. The death of the father of Sophia Dorothea was, however, followed by consequences more fatal than those just named. The severity of the imprisonment of the princess was much aggravated; and though she was permitted to have an occasional interview with her mother, all application to be allowed to see her two children was sternly refused,—and this refusal, as

the poor prisoner used to remark, was the bitterest portion of her misery.

It was of her son that George Louis used to say, in later years, "Il est fougeux, mais il a du cœur,"—hot-headed but not heartless. George Augustus manifested this disposition very early in life. He was on one occasion hunting in the neighborhood of Luisberg, not many miles from the scene of his mother's imprisonment, when he made a sudden resolution to visit her, regardless of the strict prohibition against such a course, laid on him by his father and the Hanoverian government. Laying spurs to his horse, he galloped at full speed from the field, and in the direction of Ahlden. His astonished suite, seeing the direction which he was following at so furious a rate, immediately suspected his design, and became legally determined to frustrate it. They left pursuing the stag, and took to chasing the prince. The heir-apparent led them far away over field and furrow, to the great detriment of the wind and persons of his pursuers; and he would have distanced the whole body of flying huntsmen, but that his steed was less fleet than those of two officers of the electoral household who kept close to the fugitive, and at last came up with him on the skirts of a wood adjacent to Ahlden. With mingled courtesy and firmness they represented to him that he could not be permitted to go farther in a direction which was forbidden, as by so doing he would not only be treating the paternal orders with contempt, but would be making them accomplices in his crime of disobedience. George Augustus, vexed and chafed, argued the matter with them, appealed to their affections and feelings, and endeavored to convince them both as men and ministers, as human beings and as mere official red-tapists, that he was authorized to continue his route to Ahlden, by every law, earthly or divine.

The red-tapists, however, acknowledged no law under such circumstances, but that of their electoral lord and master, and that law they would not permit to be broken. The prince would have made a note of their protest, to shield them subsequently from their master's displeasure, but they were too resolute to be content with merely making a protest against a course which it was in their power to prevent, and, accordingly, laying hold of the bridle

of the prince's steed, they turned its head homewards, and rode away with George Augustus in a state of full discontent and strict arrest.

CHAPTER X.

THN SUCCESSION—DEATH OF THE ELECTRESS.

THERE are some of the comedies of Terence, in which the heroines—the most important personages in the play—are heard of but never seen; much spoken about, but never speaking. What a coil there is in the Phormio, for instance, touching Phanium the wife of Antipho, and Pamphila, the "serva a Phædriâ amata!"—and yet how little is really known about either. Poor Sophia Dorothea in the drama of her life at Ahlden, is something like the two characters in the Athenian drama of the swarthy African; with this difference, however, that she is not as they are, the object of a human love. She is off the stage, and little indeed is known of her, save that she is immured in a dull castle, or taking exercise within the dull limits of a dull country. Beyond this, there is nothing narrated of her during the first ten years of her captivity. Something startling and dramatic had like to have happened when George Augustus suddenly resolved to visit his mother, but was obstructed in his resolution. His sire, meditating on the fact, determined to provide him with a wife.

The elector, then meditating, as I have said, on this sudden development of the domestic affections of his son, resolved to aid such development, not by giving him access to his mother, but by bestowing on him the hand of a consort. Of this lady I shall have to speak more at length hereafter, for she became Queen Consort of England, at the accession of her husband, George II. In the mean time it will be sufficient to record here what is said of her by Burnet:—

"While the house of Austria was struggling with great difficulties, two pieces of pomp and magnificence consumed a great part of their treasure; an embassy was sent from Lisbon to

demand the emperor's sister for that king; which was done with an unusual and extravagant expense; a wife was to be sought for King Charles (of Spain) among the Protestant courts, for there was not a suitable match in the Popish courts. He had seen the Princess of Anspach, and was much taken with her; so that great applications were made to persuade her to change her religion, but she could not be prevailed on to buy a crown at so dear a rate; and soon after she was married to the prince electoral of Brunswick, which gave a glorious character of her to this nation; and her pious firmness is likely to be rewarded even in this life, with a much better crown than that which she rejected. The princess of Wölfenbuttel was not so firm, so that she was brought to Vienna, and some time after was married, by proxy, to King Charles, and was sent to Italy, on her way to Spain. The solemnity with which these affairs were managed in all this distress of their affairs, consumed a vast deal of treasure; for such was the pride of those courts on such occasions, that rather than fail in a point of splendor, they would let their most important affairs go to wreck. That princess was landed at Barcelona, and the Queen of Portugal the same year came to Holland, to be carried to Lisbon by a squadron of the English fleet."

Caroline of Anspach was a very accomplished young lady, and much of such accomplishments was owing to the careful education which she received at the hands of the best-loved child of the electress, Sophia Charlotte, electress of Brandenburg, and the first, but short-lived, Queen of Prussia. If the instructress was able, the pupil was apt. She was quick, inquiring, intelligent, and studious. Her application was great, her perseverance unvaried, and her memory excellent. She learned quickly, and retained largely, seldom forgetting anything worth remembrance; and was an equally good judge of books and individuals. Her perception of character has, perhaps, never been surpassed. She had no inclination for trivial subjects, nor affection for trivial people. She had a heart and mind only for philosophers and philosophy; but she was not the less a lively girl, or the more a pedant, on that account. She delighted in lively conversation, and could admirably lead or direct it. Her knowledge of languages was equal to that

of Sophia of Hanover, of whom she was also the equal in wit and in repartée. But therewith she was more tender, more gentle, more generous. When she became the wife of George Augustus, it was again like uniting Iphigenia to Cymon. But the Cymon of the Iphigenia of Anspach could not appreciate the treasure confided to him, and though he could never despise his wife, it can be hardly said that he ever truly loved her.

The marriage of George Augustus, Electoral Prince of Brunswick-Hanover, with Caroline, daughter of John Frederick Margrave, of Anspach, was solemnized in the year 1705. It was rather an eventful year for England. It was that in which Marlborough forced the French lines at Tirlemont, a feat for which the nation rendered public thanksgiving to God. It was the year in which England poured out some of her best blood, in order to secure the throne of Spain to a prince of the house of Austria,—a service for which Austria repaid her only with ingratitude. It was the year in which the two Houses of Convocation were vulgarly brawling at each other concerning the right of adjournment; a dispute, which her Majesty Queen Anne settled by proroguing the contentious assembly, and by addressing a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, declaratory of her resolution to maintain her supremacy, and the subordination of presbyters to bishops. It was the year in which died Queen Catherine, the patient wife and very resigned widow of the graceless Charles II.; and finally, it was the year in which passed the act for "naturalizing the Princess Sophia, electress and duchess-dowager of Hanover, and the issue of her body."

The wife of George Augustus was of the same age as her husband. She had had the misfortune to lose her father when she was yet extremely young, and had been, as I have before remarked, brought up at the Court of Berlin under the guardianship, and no insufficient one, of Sophia Charlotte, the consort of Frederick of Prussia. She gave promise in her childhood of being a clever woman, and *that* promise, at least, was not "made to the ear to be broken to the hope." How this promise was fulfilled, we shall be able to see in a future page.

The sister of George Augustus, the only daughter of Sophia

Dorothea, and bearing the same baptismal names as her mother, was also married during the captivity of the latter. One can hardly conceive of wedding-bells ringing merrily when the mother of the bride is a stigmatized woman, pining in a prison. There were three remarkable Englishmen present at the marriage of the daughter of Sophia Dorothea with the Prince Royal of Prussia. These were Lord Halifax, Sir John Vanbrugh, and Joseph Addison. The last-mentioned had yet fresh on his brow the laurels which he had gained by writing what Warton ill-naturedly called, his rhyming gazette, "The Campaign," in a garret in the Haymarket, and in celebration of the victory at Blenheim. Queen Anne, who had restored Halifax to a favor from which he had fallen, entrusted him to carry the bill for the naturalization of the electoral family, and for the better security of the Protestant line of succession,—and also the order of the garter for the electoral prince. On this mission, Addison was the united companion of the patron whom he so choicely flattered. Vanbrugh was present in his official character of Clarencieux King at Arms, and performed the ceremony of investiture. The little court of Hanover was joyfully splendid on this doubly festive occasion. The nuptials were celebrated with more accompanying gladness than ever followed them. When Addison, some years subsequently, memorialized George I., the petition stated "that my Lord Halifax, upon going to Hanover, desired him to accompany him thither, at which time, though he had not the title of his secretary, he officiated as such, without any other reward than the satisfaction of showing his zeal for that illustrious family."

The nuptials of the young princess with Frederick William, Crown Prince of Prussia, lacked neither mirth nor ceremony for the circumstance just alluded to. The pomp was something uncommon in its way, and the bride must have been wearied of being married long before the stupendous solemnity had at length reached its slowly-arrived-at conclusion. She became Queen of Prussia in 1712, and of her too I shall have to speak a little more in detail in another chapter. Here it will suffice to say that she was by no means indifferent to the hard fate under which her mother groaned. She was the better enabled to sympathize with one who suffered

through the cruel oppression and injustice of a husband, from the fact that her own illustrious spouse was, in every sense of the word, her "lord and master," and treated her with as little consideration as though she had been head-servant of his exceedingly untidy establishment, rather than consort and queen, to whom, in common with his children, he administered now a heavy blow and even a harsh word, and whom he never soothed with a kind expression but when he had some evil intention in giving it utterance.

Honors now fell thick upon the electoral family, but Sophia Dorothea was not permitted to have any share therein. In 1706, Queen Anne created the son of George Louis, the old suitor for her hand,—Baron of Tewkesbury, Viscount Northallerton, Earl of Milford Haven, Marquis and Duke of Cambridge. With these honors it was also decreed that he should enjoy full precedence over the entire peerage.

There was a strong party in England whose most earnest desire it was that the Electress Sophia, in whose person the succession to the crown of Great Britain was settled, should repair to London,—not to permanently reside there, but in order that during a brief visit she might receive the homage of the Protestant party. She was, however, reluctant to move from her books, philosophy, and cards, until she could be summoned as Queen. Failing here, an attempt was made to bring over George Louis, who was nothing loth to come; but the idea of a visit from him, was to poor Queen Anne the uttermost abomination. Her Majesty had some grounds for her dislike to a visit from her old wooer. It was not merely the feeling which every one with a fortune to leave, is said to entertain towards an heir-presumptive, but that she was nervously in terror of a monster popular demonstration. Such a demonstration was publicly talked of, and the enemies of the house of Stuart, by way of instruction and warning to the queen, whose Jacobite bearings towards her brother were matter of notoriety, had determined, in the event of George Louis visiting England, to give him an escort into London that should amount to the very significant number of some forty or fifty thousand men.

It was the Duke of Devonshire who originally moved the House of Lords for leave to bring in a bill to give the Electoral Prince

of Hanover, as Duke of Cambridge, the precedence of peers. Leave was given, but some of the adherents of the House of Hanover did not think that the bill went far enough, and accordingly the lord-treasurer, previous to the introduction of the Duke of Devonshire's measure, "offered a bill, giving precedence to the whole electoral family, as the children and nephews of the crown;" and it was intimated that bills relating to honors and precedence ought to come from the crown. "The Duke of Devonshire," adds Burnet, "would make no dispute on this head; if the thing passed, he acquiesced in the manner of passing it, only he thought it lay within the authority of the House." On this occasion the Court seemed, even to an affectation, to show a particular zeal in promoting this bill; for it passed through both Houses in two days, it being read thrice in a day in them both. "For all this haste," continues the minute recorder, "the Court did not seem to design any such bill till it was proposed by others, out of whose hands they thought fit to take it." In other words, the Court would not have been Hanoverian in this matter, but for outward popular pressure.

Sometime previous to this, the Earl of Rochester had designed to bring in a bill, which he described as concerning the security of the nation, and the means whereby such security was to be accomplished, consisted in bringing over the Electress Sophia to permanently reside in England.

The party advocating this measure comprised men who were anything but zealous for the interests of the family for whose profit it was designed; but they favored it, for the sufficient political reason that it was a measure displeasing to Queen Anne. It was hoped by them, that out of the discussion a confusion might arise, from which something favorable might be drawn for the pretensions of the "Prince of Wales." "They reckoned such a motion would be popular, and if either the Court or the Whigs, on whom the Court was now beginning to look more favorably, should oppose it, this would cast a load on them as men, who after all the zeal they had expressed for that succession, did now, upon the hopes of favor at Court, throw it up; and those who had been hitherto considered as the enemies of that house, might hope, by this motion, to overcome all the prejudices that the nation had

taken up against them; and they might create a merit to themselves in the minds of that family, by this early zeal, which they resolved now to express for it."

In a subsequent session of Parliament, the question of the residence in this country of the declared successor to the crown was introduced into more than one debate. At all these debates (in the House of Lords) Queen Anne herself was present. Lord Haversham, in his speech, arraigning the conduct of the Duke of Marlborough in his various campaigns, touched also on this matter. "He said we had declared a successor to the crown, who was at a great distance from us,—while the pretender was much nearer, and Scotland was aroused and ready to receive him; and seemed resolved not to have the same successor for whom England had declared; there were threatening dangers that hung over us, and might be near us. He concluded that he did not see how they could be prevented, and the nation made safe, by any other way but by inviting the next successor to come and live among us." The Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rochester, Nottingham, and Anglesea, carried on the debate with great earnestness. "It was urged that they had sworn to maintain the succession, and by that they were bound to insist on the motion, since there were no means so sure to maintain it as to have the successor upon the spot, ready to maintain his right. It appeared through our whole history, that whoever came first into England had always carried it; the pretending successor might be in England within three days; whereas it might be three weeks before the declared successor could come; from thence it was inferred that the danger was apparent and dreadful if the successor should not be brought over. With these lords, by a strange reverse, all the Tories joined; and by another, and as strange a reverse, all the Whigs joined in opposing it. They thought this motion was to be left wholly to the queen; that it was neither proper nor safe, either for the crown or the nation, that the heir should not be in an entire dependence on the Queen; a rivalry between two courts might bring us into great destruction, and be attended with very ill consequences; the next successor had expressed a full satisfaction, and rested on the assurances the queen had given her, of her firm

adherence to the title, and to the maintaining of it. The nation was prepared for it by orders the queen had given to name her in the daily prayers of the church; great endeavors had been used to bring the Scotch nation to declare the same successor. It was true we still wanted one great security, we had not yet made any provisions for carrying on the government, for maintaining the public quiet, for proclaiming, and for sending for the successor, and for keeping things in order till the successor should come. It seemed, therefore, necessary to make an effectual provision against the disorders that might happen in such an interval. This was proposed first by myself, (Burnet) and seconded by the Lord Godolphin, and all the Whigs went into it; and so the question was put before the other motion, as first put, by a previous division, whether that should be put or not, and was carried in the negative by about three to one."

If this be not elegantly, it is at least clearly expressed by Burnet, who, in adding that the queen was present throughout this monstrous debate, informs us that her majesty was "annoyed at the behaviour of some who, when they had credit with her, and apprehended that such a motion might be made by the Whigs, had possessed her with deep prejudices against it, for they made her apprehend that when the next successor should be brought over, she herself would be so eclipsed by it, that she would be much in the successor's power, and reign only at her, or his courtesy; yet these very persons, having now lost their interest in her, and their posts, were driving on that very motion which they made her apprehend was the most fatal thing that could befall. This, the Duchess of Marlborough told me, but she named no person; and upon it a very black suspicion was taken up by some, that the proposers of this matter knew, or at least believed, that the queen would not agree to this motion which way soever it might be brought to her, whether in an address or in a bill; and then they might reckon that this would give such a jealousy, and create such a misunderstanding between her and the Parliament, or rather the whole nation, as would unsettle her whole government, and put all things in disorder. But this was only a suspicion, and more cannot be made of it."

Plain as all this is in some things, and suggestive in others, it does not explain much that is incomprehensible and unsatisfactory in the history of the succession settlement, and the intrigues by which it was accomplished. The question first became a serious one, when the son of Anne, her only child, the hope of Protestant England, died in the year 1700. King William bore the misfortune which had befallen his sister-in-law with that cheerful resignation which the selfish feel for the calamities of other people. He looked very sharply to the pecuniary profits to be made by the suppression of the young duke's household, and he concerned himself very little touching the outward marks of mourning which custom and decency enjoined as observance of respect. He was then himself a widowed king, in seclusion at Loo, and such of the Protestant party who believed that the marriage of Anne with George of Denmark would be productive of no further issue, busied themselves in finding eligible wives for King William, and congratulated themselves on the prospects of a succession thence to arise. William, however, did not care to second their views; and he was in this condition of disregard for the succession to the crown, when he was visited by the Electress Sophia of Hanover and her daughter the Electress of Brandenburg. The latter was that Sophia Charlotte, under whose superintendence Caroline of Anspach, the queen-consort of George II., was educated.

It was said that this visit had no other object than to secure William's influence with the Empress for the elevation of the electorate of Brandenburg to the rank of a kingdom under the name of Prussia. William, however, possessed no such influence, and the visit alluded to had no such object. The story of the rise of Prussia may be told in a very few words, and it is not disconnected from the history of Sophia Dorothea, for the crown of that kingdom subsequently rested on the brow of her only daughter.

The Polish Dukedom of Prussia had fallen, by inheritance, to the Elector of Brandenburg, in 1618. About forty years later, it was made free of all Polish jurisdiction, and annexed to Brandenburg, by treaty. During the following thirty years, the possessions of the Great Elector, as he was called, were greatly enlarged, chiefly by marriage treaties or by legal inheritance; and when

Frederick, the son of the Great Elector, succeeded to his father's dominions, in 1688, he had nothing so much at heart as the elevation of the electorate into a kingdom. He succeeded in obtaining the title of king from the Emperor of Germany, not without difficulty. His claim was grounded on the fact that he exercised sovereign right in Prussia, and it only succeeded by being supported by promises of adherence to the house of Austria in all difficulties, and by a bribe, or purchase-money, of nine millions of thalers, two hundred thousand of which went into the pockets of the Jesuits, whose agency brought the negotiation to a successful close.

In 1701, only a few months after the visit of the Electress Sophia to William at the Hague, the Elector of Brandenburg crowned himself, at Königsburg, by the style and title of "Frederick I., King in Prussia;" and then crowned the electress, his wife, as she knelt before him. Such is the brief history of the foundation of the kingdom of Prussia. Such a consummation had been eagerly obstructed by the knightly orders in Germany, and hotly opposed by Rome. The pope, who had seen the old protector of Protestantism, the Elector of Saxony, abandon his trust, could not, without much vexation, witness the establishing in Germany of a new stronghold for the reformed religion, and under the more secure and influential form of a kingdom. He represented that such a Protestant kingdom would be the eternal adversary of the Catholic house of Austria, and in such representation he was not to be gainsaid. The most amusing fact connected therewith is, that the Jesuits in Austria, for the sake of a pecuniary "consideration," furthered the establishment of the Protestant monarchy that was to prove a thorn in the side of the Catholic imperial power.

Whatever cause attracted the Electress of Hanover to Loo, she was but scurvily welcomed by William, who paid her one formal visit, and then suddenly departed for England. He probably had a dread of the old and energetic lady, who was not only anxious for the settling of the succession in her own family, but—like the provident gentleman who bowed to the statue of Jupiter in a museum, and begged the god to bear the respect in mind, if he should ever be restored to greatness again,—was also given to express

such concern for the interests of the exiled family as might insure liberal treatment from them, should they, in popular phrase, ever come to their own again.

The times, and the men of those times, were full of inconsistencies. Thus, William, who had undoubtedly first opened, as I have previously stated, negotiations with the Hanoverian family to secure their succession to a throne from which he had ejected James II., went into deep mourning, as did half England, when that exiled monarch died. The Princess Anne did the same, and yet, as queen, she projected and sanctioned the bill of attainder against the son and heir of her father;—a son whom William III. had proffered to adopt, at the peace of Ryswick!

When the old Electress of Hanover visited William at Loo, her visit may probably have had reference to a favorite project of that sovereign,—namely, the immediate succession of the electress to the throne, on his demise, to the exclusion of the Princess Anne. His papers, discovered at Kensington after his decease, contained many references to this subject; and it may have been that it was because he had so alluded to the matter, that he was reluctant to treat of it verbally. The report was certainly current at the time, that among the defunct king's papers was a written recommendation, or what might be interpreted as such, to invite the Electress of Hanover and her son to take possession of the throne of England immediately after his death. Pamphlets were published in defence of the queen's rights, against such a recommendation of exclusion. The government, indeed, declared that the report of the intended exclusion was false and groundless; which may have been the case, without affecting the request that a *hint* for such a course had really been found in the papers of the deceased king.

When the accession of Anne brought the husband of Sophia Dorothea one step nearer to the throne of England, there expired a law which was one of the most singular in connection with the law of taxation; and the singularity alone of which authorizes me to make mention of it here. In April, 1695, this law had been passed, under the title of an Act for granting to his majesty certain rates and duties upon marriages, births, and burials, and upon bachelors and widowers, "for the carrying on the war against

France with vigor." By the graduated scale of this law, which commenced with the deaths, a duke or duchess could not die without paying 50*l.* sterling for the enjoyment of the luxury. It would be more correct, perhaps, to say that the heir could not administer till such impost had been paid. A marquis could depart at a diminished cost of 40*l.*; while an earl was decreed as worth only 5*l.* less than a marquis, and his decease brought into the treasury the sum of 35*l.* The scale descended till it included "every gentleman, or so-reputed, or his wife, 20*s.*," and also, "every person having a real estate of 50*l.* per annum, or in personal estate 600*l.*, to pay 20*s.*, and for his wife 10*s.*" Nobody was forgotten in this scale. No class was passed over, as the town of Berwick was when the old property tax was laid on,—an omission which the indignant town on the Tweed resented as an insult gross and undeserved.

A similar scale affected the births: a duke (or an archbishop, who throughout the scale ranked as a duke) having a first son born to him, was mulcted of 50*l.* for the honor; while the commonest citizen could not legally be a father, at less cost in taxation than "10*s.* for every son and daughter." And so again with marriages: a ducal knot carried with it the usual dignified 50*l.* to the treasury; and the scale ran gradually down till the marriage tax embraced "every person else that did not receive alms," on whom a levy was made of half-a-crown to the king, in addition to what was expected by the minister.

It is an ordinary policy to tax luxuries only; but under this law every condition of life was set down as a luxury. It was right, perhaps, to set down marriage as a luxury, for it is intended to be so; and where such is not the case, the fault lies in the parties who are too self-willed to allow it to be an enjoyment. Bachelors and widowers probably paid the impost with decent cheerfulness. Death, as an undoubted luxury, both to the patient and to the heir who profited by it, might also be fairly placed under the operation of this law. The cruelty in the enactment consisted in the rate put upon births. It was not misery enough that a man should be born, but that his welcome should be put in jeopardy by his coming in company with the tax-gatherer. I can fancy Mr.

Shandy having much to say upon this particular point; and the law is certainly obnoxious to much Shandean observation. The most seriously cruel portion of this law was that, however, which affected a class of persons who could ill afford to be so smitten as this enactment thus smote them. Not only was every person who did not receive alms compelled to pay one penny per week, but one farthing per week, *in the pound*, was levied on all servants receiving wages amounting to 4*l.* per annum. "Those," says Smollett, "who received from 8*l.* to 16*l.*, paid one halfpenny in the pound per week." The hard-working recipients of these modest earnings, therefore, paid a very serious contribution in order that the war with France might be carried on with vigor.

To return from this digression to the electoral family and the question of the succession to the crown of England, it may be observed, that on the question as to whether the Electress Sophia, and the husband of the imprisoned Sophia Dorothea, sanctioned an agitation of their interests in England, so as to give a continued uneasiness to the queen, there is much to be said on both sides. Miss Strickland, in her picturesque and able Life of Queen Anne, very zealously essays to prove that the Electress Sophia was unexceptionable and disinterested, as to her conduct. The historian just named cites from the journal of the lord-keeper, Cowper, what that lady states to be the official answer of the princess to all the invitations which had been agitated by the Hanoverian Tories during the year 1704 and the succeeding summer. "At the queen's Cabinet Council, Sunday, November 11th, 1705, foreign letters read in her majesty's presence, the substance remarkable, that at Hanover was a person, agent to the discontented party here, to invite over the Princess Sophia, and the electoral prince (afterwards George II.) into England, assuring them that a party here was ready to propose it. That the Princess Sophia had caused the same person to be acquainted, 'that she judged the message came from such as were enemies to her family; that she would never hearken to such a proposal, but when it came from the queen of England herself;' and withal she had discouraged the attempt so much that it was believed nothing more could be said in it." "The moderate and humane conduct of the Princess

Sophia," adds Miss Strickland,—"conduct which the irrefragible evidence of events proved was sincere and true, did not mollify the burning jealousy of Queen Anne. If we may believe the correspondence of the Jacobite writer, Dr. Davenant, angry letters were written by Queen Anne to the Princess Sophia, who, knowing how little she had deserved them, and being of a high spirit, retorted with displeasure, yet did not alter the intrinsic integrity of her conduct. The Duchess of Marlborough was reckless in her abuse of the Protestant heiress; and it is certain, by her letters, that she worked on the mind of the queen with all her might, to keep up her jealousy and alarm, regarding the advancement of her high-minded cousin, Sophia. A running fit of angry correspondence was actually kept up between the queen and the Princess Sophia, from March 5, 1705. It was increased at every violent political agitation, until we shall see the scene of this world's glory close almost simultaneously on both the royal kinswomen."

The truth is that Sophia, who was naturally reluctant to come to England upon a mere popular or partisan invitation, would gladly have come on the bidding of the queen. This was never given, and hence the angry correspondence. It is said that not only Anne, but that Sophia herself, would have sacrificed the interests of the House of Hanover, and would have secured the succession to the son of James II., if the latter would have consented to profess the Protestant religion. The queen and electress were perfectly safe in consenting to such a sacrifice on such a stipulation, for they might have been perfectly sure that it would never be listened to. Then again, much has been said about the disinterestedness of the electress, and of George Louis, when the rejected Whig ministry, towards the end of Anne's reign, wrote a letter to Marlborough, yet in command of the army abroad, offering to seize the queen and proclaim the Electress of Hanover, as regent, if Marlborough could bring over a force upon which he could depend, to support them. Marlborough is declared to have described such a project as one of rank insanity; and it is stated that Sophia contented herself with recommending her son to the consideration of the actual ministry. This proves nothing more, either for mother or son, than that at a period when the health of Anne

was failing, they were very prudently contented to wait for an inheritance which every day brought nearer to their grasp, from which any day it might be snatched by popular commotion.

In one year, the queen sent a request to the electress to aid her in promoting the peace of Europe, and a present to her god-daughter Anne, the first child of George Augustus and Caroline of Anspach. Earl Rivers carried both letter and present. The latter was acknowledged with cold courtesy by the electress, in a communication to the Earl of Strafford, secretary of state. The communication bears date Nov. 11, 1711; and, after saying that the gift is infinitely esteemed, the electress adds—"I would not, however, give my *parchment* for it, since that will be an everlasting monument in the archives of Hanover, and the present for the little princess will go, when she is grown up, into another family." It is suggested that by "my parchment," is meant the queen's letter to the electress, but the letter was a letter and nothing more. It was no commission, and is not likely to have been engrossed. The word "parchment," it is much more probable, had reference to the act of succession, which certainly was, and remains "an everlasting monument in the archives of Hanover."

When the daughter of Sophia Dorothea married the Prince of Prussia, the young married couple repaired to Brussels, in the hope of receiving an invitation to England from Queen Anne. They waited in vain, and returned without being noticed at all. There was something more than mere jealousy in this conduct of the British queen, and the angry allusions in the correspondence of Anne and Sophia tend to prove this; for though the latter may not have been, and probably was not, intriguing against the peace of the queen, she was desirous that the electoral prince should visit the country, while Anne was as determined that he should not come, if she and her ministry could prevent it.

In November, 1714, Anne addressed a powerful remonstrance to the aged electress, complaining that ever since the Act of Succession had been settled, there had been a constant agitation, the object of which was to bring over a prince of the Hanoverian house to reside in England, even during the writer's life. She

accuses the electress of having come, though perhaps tardily, into this sentiment, which had its origin in political pretensions, and she adds that if persevered in, it may end in consequences dangerous to the succession itself, "which is not secure any other ways than as the princess, who actually wears the crown, maintains her authority and prerogative." The royal writer makes a strong appeal to the feelings and loyalty of the dowager-electress, adding such expressions of confidence in her good intentions, as courteous people are apt to express to persons in whom they do not fully trust, and whom they would not altogether offend.

Nor was she satisfied with this alone. Her Majesty addressed a second letter to George Augustus, as Duke of Cambridge, impartially expressing her thoughts with respect to the design he had of coming into her kingdom. After a rotundity of paraphrase, which is anything but Ciceronian, she says, "I should tell you, nothing can be more dangerous to the tranquillity of my dominions, and the right of succession in your line, and consequently most disagreeable to me."

These letters undoubtedly helped to kill the proud dowager-electress, although it is said of her that "that illustrious lady had experienced too many changes of capricious fortune in her youth, to be slain with a few capricious words." The conclusion is illogical, and the terms incorrect. The words were not capricious, they were solemn, sober truth; and they thwarted her in one of her great desires. She would have been glad to see the son of the electress take his place in the House of Peers as Duke of Cambridge; and her not unnatural ambition is manifest in the words, that "she cared not when she died, if on her tomb could be recorded that she was Queen of Great Britain and Ireland." These words are said to have given great offence to Queen Anne; and some profit to Tom D'Urfey, who, standing at her majesty's sideboard, during the queen's dessert, after her three o'clock dinner, received, it is said, "a fee of fifty pounds for a stanza which he composed soon after Queen Anne's refusal to invite the Elector of Hanover's son, for the purpose of taking his place as Duke of Cambridge in the house of peers." Here is a verse of the dog-

gerel which delighted the monarch, and brought guerdon to the minstrel.

The crown's far too weighty
For shoulders of eighty;
She could not sustain such a trophy.
Her hand, too, already
Has grown so unsteady,
She can't hold a sceptre;—
So Providence kept her
Away, poor old dowager Sophy!

There is evidence that the last letters of Anne really had something to do with the death of the electress. They had hardly been received and read, when her health, which certainly had been for some time failing, grew worse. She rallied, however, for a time, and was able to take exercise, but the blow had been given from which she never recovered.

Molyneux, an agent of the Duke of Marlborough, at Hanover, says:—He was on his way to the country palace of the electress, when he was suddenly informed that she had been seized with mortal illness in one of the garden walks.

"I ran up there, and found her fast expiring in the arms of the poor electoral princess (Caroline, afterwards queen of George II.) and amidst the tears of a great many of her servants, who endeavored in vain to help her. I can give you no account of her illness, but that I believe the chagrin of those villanous letters I sent you last post, has been in a great measure the cause of it. The Rheingravine who has been with her these fifteen years, has told me she never knew anything make so deep an impression on her, as the affair of the prince's journey, which I am sure she had to the last degree at heart, and she has done me the honor to tell me so twenty times. In the midst of this, however, these letters arrived, and these, I verily believe, have broken her heart, and brought her with sorrow to the grave. The letters were delivered on Wednesday at seven.

"When I came to court she was at cards, but was so full of these letters that she got up and ordered me to follow her into the garden, where she gave them to me to read, and walked, and spoke a great deal in relation to them. I believe she walked three hours

that night. The next morning, which was Thursday, I heard that she was out of order, and on going immediately to court, she ordered me to be called into her bed-chamber. She gave me the letters I sent you to copy; she bade me send them next post, and bring them afterwards to her to court. This was on Friday. In the morning, on Friday, they told me she was very well, but seemed much chagrined. She was dressed, and dined with the elector as usual. At four, she did me the honor to send to town for some other copies of the same letters; and then she was still perfectly well. She walked and talked very heartily in the orangery. After that, about six, she went out to walk in the garden, and was still very well. A shower of rain came, and as she was walking pretty fast to get to shelter, they told her she was walking a little too fast. She answered, 'I believe I do,' and dropped down on saying these words, which were her last. They raised her up, chafed her with spirits, tried to bleed her; but it was all in vain, and when I came up, she was as dead as if she had been four days so."*

Such was the end, on June 10, 1714, of a very remarkable woman; a woman who bore with more complacency than any other trial, that indeed which was scarcely a trial to her at all,—the infidelities of her husband. For the honor of that husband she herself was exceedingly jealous. This was exhibited on more than one occasion.

William III. once showed his gratitude to the Duke of Zell for political services rendered in cabinet or field, by conferring on him the Order of the Garter. This favor, however, rendered the Electress Sophia furious. She could bear complacently the infidelities and the neglect of her husband, but her mind, full of reverence for etiquette, propriety, and the fitness of things, as set down by the masters of ceremonies, could not tolerate that a younger brother should wear a distinction which, so far as it went, elevated him above the elder branch of his house.

The astute lady affected to be unable to comprehend the reason for thus passing over her husband. The reason, perhaps, was that in principle she herself was a thorough Jacobite, and that Jacobite

* Letter to the Duke of Marlborough.

principles influenced the elder branch of a family which, nevertheless, was not without some hopes of rising to a throne through a popular and national triumph over these very principles.

The electress, it may be added, oscillated very actively between two extremes, and endeavored to maintain friendship with both parties. She corresponded with the dethroned James at St. Germains, and she wrote very affectionate letters to his daughter Mary, who, in succeeding him in the palace from which he had fled, rolled herself over the cushions, on which he had so lately sat, in frolicsome but unfilial delight. Her letters to Anne were marked by more ceremony than those addressed to Mary, and for this reason: she respected the latter as a clever woman, but for Anne she had a contempt, ill concealed, and a very thin cloak of civility,—deeming her to be destitute of ability, and unendowed with personal qualities to compensate for the defect. She had little more respect for Anne's father than she had for Anne herself, but in the former case she hid her want of attachment beneath a greater weight of ceremony.

But if she loved neither king nor queen in England, she had a strong feeling, or at least declared she had, in favor of the country itself. She used to speak of Great Britain as being her own native land, and expressed a wish that she might be buried beside her mother in Westminster Abbey. It is doubtful whether this expression was founded on affection or ambition, for, as we have before stated, she declared she could die happy, were she so to die as to warrant her tomb being distinguished by the inscription, "Here lies Sophia Queen of England."

"It is my own country," she used to say; and she told Lord Dartmouth, when the latter was sojourning at Hanover, that she had once in her younger days, been on the point of becoming Queen of England, by a marriage which was said to have been projected between her and Charles II. She added, in her coarse way, that England would have profited by such a marriage, for her numerous children would have rendered, as she suggested, a disputed succession less complicated;—a conclusion which was by no means logically arrived at; for in England she might not have been the prolific mother she was in Germany; and, moreover, of

that German family, the half went over to that faith, the following of which rendered them ineligible to the crown of Great Britain.

None knew better than the electress dowager on what basis her claims rested. If she neither openly nor privately agitated the question, she was not indifferent as to its consequences; and though anxious, she was quiet; and was quiet, because she was in reality sincere. In a letter, written by the electress on this very subject, and quoted by Miss Benger in her life of the mother of the electress, there is the following passage:—"I find all the fine speeches too strong; they are only fit to amuse the lower orders, for the comparing the Prince of Wales with Perkin is too strong. And it is not he who could by right deprive me of the crown. If a Catholic king could not succeed, the crown is mine by right. Without that, there are many nearer to the succession than I am. So, I do not like that the Prince of Wales should be called bastard: for I love the truth."

CHAPTER XI.

AHLDEN AND ENGLAND.

During marriage festivals and Court fêtes held to celebrate some step in greatness, Sophia Dorothea continued to vegetate in Ahlden. She was politically dead; and even in the domestic occurrences of her family, events in which a mother might be gracefully allowed to have a part, she enjoyed no share. The marriages of her children, and the births of *their* children, were not officially communicated to her. She was left to learn them through chance or the courtesy of individuals.

Her daughter was now the second Queen of Prussia, but the king cared not to exercise his influence in behalf of his unfortunate mother-in-law. Not that he was unconcerned with respect to her. His consort was heiress to property over which her mother had control, and Frederick was not tranquil of mind until this property had been secured as the indisputable inheritance of his wife. He was earnest enough in his correspondence with Sophia Dorothea,

until this consummation was arrived at; and when he held the writings which secured the succession of certain portions of the property of the duchess on his consort, he ceased to trouble himself further with any question connected with the unfortunate prisoner; except, indeed, that he forbade his wife to hold any further intercourse with her mother, by letter, or otherwise. This prohibition was by far too obediently observed, and Sophia Dorothea was in this much like old King Lear, that by endowing a daughter she lost a child.

Few and trivial are the incidents told of her long captivity. The latter had been embittered in 1703, by the knowledge that Mademoiselle von Schulemberg was the mother of another daughter, Margaret Gertrude, of whom the elector was the father. This child, of whom little is known, but of whom we shall have to speak in a future reign, was ten years younger than her sister, Petronilla Melusina, who subsequently figured at the Court of George II. as Countess of Walsingham, and who, as the careless and uncared-for wife of Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, gave, nevertheless, very considerable trouble to that celebrated personage, who had the spirit to be a patriot, and the tact to be a gentleman, but who had neither the tact nor the principle to be a Christian. In the latter respect, the parties were, for a time at least, not ill-matched.

Previous to the prohibition laid on his wife by the King of Prussia, an epistolary intercourse had been privately maintained between the prisoner and her daughter. Such intercourse had never the king's sanction; and when it came to his knowledge, at the period of the settlement of part of the maternal property on the daughter, he peremptorily ordered its cessation. It had been maintained chiefly by means of a Chevalier de Bar; Ludwig, a privy-counsellor at Berlin; Frederick, a page of the queen's; and a bailiff of the castle of Ahlden. There were too many confederates in a matter so simple, and the whole of them betrayed the poor lady, for whom they professed to act. The most important agent was the chevalier; in him the duchess confided longest, and in his want of faith she was the last to believe. He had introduced himself to her by sending her presents of snuff, no unusual present to a lady in those days,—though it is pretended that these gifts

bore a peculiar signification, known only to the donor and the recipient. They probably had less meaning than the presents forwarded to her by her daughter, consisting now of her portrait, another time of a watch, or some other trinket, which served to pass a letter with it, in which were filial injunctions to the poor mother to be patient and resigned, and to put no trust in the Count de Bar.

The prisoner did not heed the counsel, but continued to confide in a man who was prodigal of promise, and traitorous of performance. Her hopes were fixed upon escaping, but they were foiled by the watchfulness of noble spies, who exultingly told her that her husband was a king. And it is asserted that she might have been a recognized queen if she would but have confessed that she had failed in obedience towards her husband. It is certain that a renewed, but it may not have been an honest, attempt at reconciliation was made just previous to the accession of George I., but the old reply fell from the prisoner's lips :—"If I am guilty, I am not worthy of him; if I am innocent, he is not worthy of me."

I have already noticed the death of the Electress Sophia, and the causes of that death,—in 1714. It was followed very shortly after by the demise of Queen Anne. This event had taken all parties somewhat by surprise. They stood face to face, as it were, over the dying queen. The Jacobites were longing for her to name her brother as her successor, whom they would have proclaimed at once at the head of the army. The Hanoverian party were feverish with fears and anticipations, but they had the regency dressed up, and ready in the back ground; and Secretary Craggs, booted and spurred, was making such haste as could then be made, on his road to Hanover, to summon King George. The Jacobite portion of the cabinet was individually bold in resolving what ought to be done, but they were, bodily, afraid of the responsibility of doing it. Each man of each faction had *his* king's name ready upon his lips, awaiting only that the lethargy of the queen should be succeeded by irretrievable death, to give it joyful utterance. Anne died on the first of August, 1714; the Jacobites drew a breath of hesitation; and in the meantime, the active Whigs instantly proclaimed King George, gave Addison

the mission of announcing the demise of one sovereign to another, who was that sovereign's successor, and left the Jacobites to their vexation, and their threatened redress.

Lord Berkley was sent with the fleet to Orange Polder, in Holland, there to bring over the new king, but Craggs had not only taken a very long time to carry his invitation to the monarch, but the husband of Sophia, when he received it, showed no hot haste to take advantage thereof. The Earl of Dorset was despatched over to press his immediate coming, on the ground of the affectionate impatience of his new subjects. The king was no more moved thereby than he was by the first announcement of Lord Clarendon, the English ambassador, at Hanover. On the night of the 5th of August, that envoy had received an express, announcing the demise of the Queen. At two o'clock in the morning he hastened with what he supposed the joyful intelligence to Herrnhausen, and caused George Louis to be aroused, that he might be the first to salute him as king. The new monarch yawned, expressed himself vexed, and went to sleep again as calmly as any serene highness. In the morning, some one delicately hinted, as if to encourage the husband of Sophia Dorothea in staying where he was, that the presbyterian party in England was a dangerous regicidal party. "Not so," said George, who seemed to be satisfied that there was no peril in the new greatness; "Not so; I have nothing to fear from the king-killers; they are all on my side." But still he tarried; one day decreeing the abolition of the excise, the next ordering, like King Arthur in Fielding's tragedy, all the insolvent debtors to be released from prison. While thus engaged, London was busy with various pleasant occupations. On the 3d of August, the late queen was opened; and on the following day her bowels were buried, with as much ceremony as they deserved, in Westminster Abbey. The day subsequent to this ceremony, the Duke of Marlborough, who had been in voluntary exile abroad, and whose office in command of the imperial armies had been held for a short time, and not discreditably, by George Louis, made a triumphant entry into London. The triumph, however, was marred by the sudden breaking down of his coach at Temple-Bar,—an accident omnious of his not again

rising to power. The Lords and Commons then sent renewed assurances of loyalty to Hanover, and renewed prayers that the lord there would doff his electoral cap, and come and try his kingly crown. To quicken this, the lower house, on the 10th, voted him the same revenues the late queen had enjoyed,—excepting those arising from the Duchy of Cornwall, which were, by law, invested in the Prince of Wales. On the 13th, Craggs arrived in town to herald the king's coming; and on the 14th, the Hanoverian party were delighted to hear that on the Pretender repairing from Louvain to Versailles, to implore of Louis to acknowledge him publicly as king, the French monarch had pleaded, in bar, his engagements with the House of Hanover; and that thereon the Pretender had returned dispirited to Louvain. On the 24th of the month, the late queen's body was privately buried in Westminster Abbey, by order of her successor, who appeared to have a dread of finding the old lady of his young love yet upon the earth. This order was followed by another, which ejected from their places many officials who had hoped to retain them,—and chief of these was Bolingbroke. London then became excited at hearing that the king had arrived at the Hague on the 5th of September. It was calculated that the nearer he got to his kingdom, the more accelerated would be his speed; but George was not to be hurried. Madame Kielmansegge, who shared what was called his regard, with Mademoiselle von Schulemberg, had been retarded in her departure from Hanover by the heaviness of her debts. The daughter of the Countess von Platen would not have been worthy of her mother, had she suffered herself to be long detained by such a trifle. She, accordingly, gave her creditors the slip, set off to Holland, and was received with a heavy sort of delight, by the king. The exemplary couple tarried alone a week at the Hague; and on the 16th December, George and his retinue set sail for England. Between that day and the day of his arrival at Greenwich, the heads of the Regency were busy in issuing decrees:—now it was for the prohibition of fireworks on the day of his majesty's entry; next against the admission of unprivileged carriages into Greenwich Park on the king's arrival; and, lastly, one promising one

hundred thousand pounds to any loyal subject who might be lucky enough to catch the Pretender in England, and who would bring him a prisoner to London.

On the 18th of September, the king landed at Greenwich; and on the two following days, while he sojourned there, he was waited on by various officials, who went smiling to the foot of the throne, and came away frowning at the scurvy treatment they received there. They who thought themselves the most secure endured the most disgraceful falls, especially the Duke of Ormond, who, as captain-general, had been three parts inclined to proclaim the Pretender. He repaired in gorgeous array to do homage to King George; but the king would only receive his staff of office, and would *not* see the ex-bearer of it; who returned home with one dignity the less, and for George one enemy the more.

The public entry into London on the 20th was splendid, and so was the court holden at St. James's on the following day. A lively incident, however, marked the proceedings of this first court. Colonel Chudleigh, in the crowd, branded Mr. Allworth, M.P. for New Windsor, as a Jacobite; whereupon they both left the palace, went in a coach to Marylebone-fields, and fought there a duel, in which Mr. Allworth was killed on the spot. It was the first libation of blood offered to the king.

Were it not that we know how much more intensely the poets love the Muses than they care for Truth, we might be puzzled in our endeavors to reconcile the rhyming records of England's welcome to George I. with the narrations given in simple prose by eye-witnesses of the incidents which they narrate.

No poet deplored—that is, no poet affected to deplore—the decease of Anne, with such profundity of jingling grief, as Young. He had not then achieved a name, and he was eagerly desirous to build up a fortune. His threnodia on the death of Queen Anne is a fine piece of measured maudlin; but the author appears to have bethought himself, ere he had expended half his stock of sorrows, that there would be more profit in welcoming a living than bewailing a defunct monarch. Accordingly, wiping up his tears, and arraying his face in the blandest of smiles, he thus falls to the dou-

ble task of recording the reception of George, and registering his merits. He first, however, apologetically states, as his warrant for turning from weeping for Anne to cheering for George, that all the sorrow in the world cannot reverse doom, that groans cannot "unlock th' inexorable tomb;" that a fond indulgence of woe is sad folly, for, from such a course, he exclaims, with a fine eye to a poet's profit,—

What fruit can rise or what advantage flow!

So, turning his back from the tomb of Anne to the throne of George, he grandiosely waves his hat, and thus he sings:—

Welcome great stranger to Britannia's throne!
Nor let thy country think thee all her own.
Of thy delay how oft did we complain!
Our hope reach'd out and met thee on the main.
With pray'r we smooth the billows for thy feet,
With ardent wishes fill thy swelling sheet;
And when thy foot took place on Albion's shore,
We, bending, bless'd the Gods and ask'd no more!
What hand but thine should conquer and compose,
Join those whom interest joins, and chase our foes,
Repel the daring youth's presumptuous aim,
And by his rival's greatness give him fame?
Now, in some foreign court he may sit down,
And quit without a blush the British crown;
Secure his honor, though he lose his store,
And take a lucky moment to be poor.

This sneer at the Pretender is as contemptible as the flattery of George is gross; and the picture of an entire nation on its knees, blessing Olympus, and bidding the gods to restrain all further gifts, is as magnificent a mixture of bombast and blasphemy as ever was made up by venal poet. But here is more of it:—

Nor think, great sir, now first at this late hour,
In Britain's favor you exert your power,
To us, far back in time, I joy to trace
The numerous tokens of your princely grace;
Whether you chose to thunder on the Rhine,
Inspire grave councils, or in courts to shine,

In the more scenes your genius was display'd,
The greater debt was on Britannia laid:
They all conspir'd this mighty man to raise,
And your new subjects proudly share the praise.

Such is the record of a rhymer; Walpole, in plain and truthful prose, tells a very different story. He informs us that the London mob—no Jacobites, be it remembered, but, to paraphrase Nell Gwynne's celebrated phrase, "a good Protestant mob," were highly diverted at the importation by the king of his uncommon seraglio of ugly women. "They were food," he says, "for all the venom of the Jacobites," and so far from Britain thanking him for coming himself, or for bringing with him *these* numerous tokens of his princely grace, "nothing could be grosser than the ribaldry that was vomited out in lampoons, libels, and every channel of abuse, against the sovereign and the new court, and chanted even in their hearing about the public streets."

As for the great balance of debt which Young struck against poor Britannia for the outlay of genius on the part of George, the creditor did not fail to exact payment, with a large amount of compound interest, both out of the national purse and the national peerage. Mademoiselle von Schulemberg was created Duchess of Kendal. "The younger Mademoiselle von Schulemberg, who came over with her, and was created Countess of Walsingham, passed for her niece, but was so like the king, that it is not very credible that the Duchess, who had affected to pass for cruel, had waited for the left-handed marriage." Lady Walsingham, as before said, was afterwards married to the celebrated Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield.

To the Duchess of Kendal,—George, who was so shocked at the infidelity of which his wife was alleged to be guilty, was to the mistress as inconstant as to the wife he had been untrue. He set aside the former, to put in her place Madame Kielmansegge, called, like her mother, Countess von Platen. On the death of her husband, in 1721, he raised her to the rank of Countess of Leinster in Ireland, Countess of Darlington and Baroness of Brentford in England. Coxe says of her, that her power over the king was not equal to that of the Duchess of Kendal, but her character for

rapacity was not inferior. Horace Walpole has graphically portrayed Lady Darlington in the following passage :

"Lady Darlington, whom I saw at my mother's in my infancy, and whom I remember by being terrified at her enormous figure, was as corpulent and ample as the duchess was long and emaciated. The fierce black eyes, large, and rolling beneath two lofty arched eyebrows, two acres of cheeks spread with crimson, an ocean of neck that overflowed, and was not distinguished from, the lower part of her body, and no part restrained by stays—no wonder that a child dreaded such an ogress."

But Parnassus itself was far from being unanimous in welcoming the first king of the House of Brunswick. The Jacobite lyrists mounted Pegasus, and made him kick rather menacingly against the Hanoverian succession. The Hanover poets, indeed were the first in the field. Thus, Anne died on the 1st of August, 1714, and six days afterwards the violent Whig "Flying Post" suppressed its columns of intelligence in order to make room for piles of political poetry. Among the rest was "A Hanover Garland," in which the following flower of poetry was wreathed :—

Keep out, keep out H(anover)'s line,
'Tis only J(ame)s has right divine,
So Romish parsons cant and whine,
And sure we must believe them.
But if their prince can't come in peace
Their stock will every day decrease,
And they will ne'er see Perkin's face,
So their false hopes deceive them.

Against these tilters the first Tory poet who appeared in the field was Ned Ward, the publican, who took advantage of the public return of the Duke of Marlborough from his voluntary exile, to ridicule the circumstance, and the parties engaged in the procession, as seditious and republican in character. Ned satirized the "Low-church elders," and added, against the Whig mercantile community :—

Next these who, like to blazing stars,
Portend domestic feuds and wars,
Came managers and bank-directors,
King-killers, monarchy electors,
And votaries for lord-protectors ;

That, had old subtle Satan spread
His net o'er all the cavalcade,
He might at one surprising pull
Have fill'd his lower dominion full—
Of atheists, rebels, Whigs, and traitors,
Reforming knaves and regulators;
And eased at once this land of more
And greater plagues than Egypt bore.

The mob had a strong Tory leaven at this time, and among the multitude circulated a mass of broadsides and ballads, of so openly a seditious character, that the power of the law was stringently applied to suppress the evil. Before the year was out, half the provincial towns in England were infected with seditious sentiments against the Whig government, which had brought in a king whose way of life was a scandal to them. This feeling of contempt for both king and government, was wide as well as deep, and it was so craftily made use of by the leaders of public opinion, that before George had been three months upon the throne, the "High-church rabble," as the Tory party was called, in various country towns, were violent in their proceedings against the government; and at Axminster, in Devonshire, shouted for the Pretender, and drank his health as King of England. The conduct of George to his wife, Sophia Dorothea, was as satirically dealt with, in the way of censure, as any of his delinquencies, and his character as a husband was not forgotten in the yearly tumults of his time, which broke out on every recurring anniversary of Queen Anne's birth-day (the 23d of April,) to the end of his reign.

If the new king was dissatisfied with his new subjects, he liked as little the manners of England. "This is a strange country," said his majesty; "the first morning after my arrival at St. James', I looked out of the window, and saw a park, with walks, a canal, and so forth, which they told me were mine. The next day, Lord Chetwynd, the ranger of *my* park, sent me a fine brace of carp out of *my* canal, and I was told that I must give five guineas to Lord Chetwynd's servant, for bringing me *my own* carp, out of *my own* canal, in *my own* park!"

The monarch's mistresses as much loved to receive money as

the king himself loved little to part from it. The Duchess of Kendal's rapacity has been mentioned; one instance of it is mentioned by Coxe, on the authority of Sir Robert Walpole, to the effect that "the restoration of Lord Bolingbroke was the work of the Duchess of Kendal. He gained the duchess by a present of eleven thousand pounds, and obtained a promise to use her influence over the king for the purpose of forwarding his complete restoration." Horace Walpole states that the duchess was no friend of Sir Robert, and wished to make Lord Bolingbroke minister in his room. The rapacious mistress was jealous of Sir Robert's credit with the monarch. Monarch and minister transacted business through the medium of indifferent Latin; the king not being able to speak English, and Sir Robert, like a country gentleman of England, knowing nothing of either German or French. "It was much talked of," says the lively writer of the reminiscences of the courts of the first two Georges, "that Sir Robert, detecting one of the Hanoverian ministers in some trick or falsehood before the king's face, had the firmness to say to the German, '*Mentiris impudentissime!*' The good-humored monarch only laughed, as he often did when Sir Robert complained to him of his Hanoverians selling places, nor would be persuaded that it was not the practice of the English court." The singularity of this complaint is, that it was made by a minister who was notorious for complacently saying that "Every man in the House of Commons had his price."

The king laughed, simply because he loved to lead an untroubled life. The parade of royalty was abhorrent to him, solely on the same account. To the theatre he went in no state; "nor did he sit in the stage-box, nor forwards, but behind the Duchess of Kendal and Lady Walsingham, in the second box, afterwards allotted to the maids of honor." This spectacle must have been edifying to the "house," yet one not likely to induce love or loyalty for the House of Brunswick, as then represented. A king living in open violation of God's commandments, coldly calling on his people to witness the uncleanness of his sin, and at the same time shutting up his wife in close captivity, for no better reason, apparently, than that her temper was incompatible with his—which was likely enough—was surely a sight to perplex those very gods to

whom, Young said, all Britain bent in humble thankfulness for such a blessing. I can fancy Dan Mercury looking down upon such a sight, and exclaiming, as he saw the jumbling of triumphs for the unrighteous, oppression for the innocent, and praise offered by the vain to the wicked, that in this lower world, as *Stephen Blackpool* has since remarked, "it was all *muddle!*"

CHAPTER XII.

CROWN AND GRAVE.

WHILE Sophia Dorothea continued to linger in her prison, her husband and son, with the mistresses of the former and the wife of the latter, were enjoying the advantages and anxieties which surround a throne. The wife of the Prince of Wales, Caroline, arrived at Margate on the 13th of October. She was accompanied by her two eldest daughters, Anne and Amelia. Mother and children rested during one day in the town where they had landed, slept one night at Rochester, and arrived at St. James's on the 15th. The royal coronation took place in Westminster Abbey on the 20th of the same month. Amid the pomp of the occasion, no one appears to have thought of her who should have been queen-consort. There was much splendor and some calamity, for, as the procession was sweeping by, several people were killed by the fall of scaffolding in the Palace Yard. The new king entered the Abbey amid the cheers and screams of an excited multitude.

Three days after, the monarch, with the Prince and Princess of Wales, dined with the Lord Mayor and corporation, in the Guildhall, London, and there George performed the first grateful service to his people, by placing a thousand guineas in the hands of the sheriffs, for the relief of the wretched debtors then immured in the neighboring horrible prisons of Newgate and the Fleet.

Within a month, the general festivities were a little marred by the proclamation of the pretender, dated from Lorraine, wherein he laid claim to the throne which George was declared to have

usurped. At this period the Duke of Lorraine was a sovereign prince, maintaining an envoy at our court; but the latter was ordered to withdraw from the country immediately after the arrival of the "Lorraine proclamation," by the French mail. Already George I. began to feel that on the throne he was destined to enjoy less quiet than his consort in her prison.

The counter-proclamations made in this country, chiefly on account of the Jacobite riots at Oxford and some other places, were made up of nonsense and malignity, and were well calculated to make a good cause wear the semblance of a bad one. They decreed, or announced, thanksgiving on the 20th of January, for the accession of the House of Hanover; and, to show what a portion of the people had to be thankful for, they ordered a rigorous execution of the laws against papists, nonjurors, and dissenters generally, who were assumed to be, as a matter of course, disaffected to the reigning house.

The government was earnest in its intentions. Vine, a comedian, was prosecuted for a libel contained in his "Reasons humbly offered to the Parliament for abrogating the observation of the 30th of January." But this was an innocent libel enough, compared with others such as that of Hornby's, in his "Advice to the Freethinkers of England," in which it was affirmed that the Whig government would overturn the constitution in Church and State, alter the law of limitations in the power of the crown, establish a standing army, crush public liberty, and "encourage the people to abuse the memory of good Queen Anne." A reward of a thousand pounds was conferred on the discoverer of the author of this libel. Some of its assertions appeared, however, to be justified in the king's first proclamation for the electing a new parliament. In this document his majesty charged the late House of Commons with being Jacobitical, and desired his subjects to elect men of an opposite tendency. His desire was tolerably well obeyed; but when the king told the new parliament that the public debt had increased in peace, and diminished during war,—and when the commons, in their address, encouraged the monarch in his warlike propensities,—the freethinkers were more obstinate than ever in their

opinion that liberty was doomed to die beneath the heels of a standing army.

Not that much pains could be said to have been taken by the government to conciliate the army. On the first anniversary of the king's birth-day, the 28th of May, the first regiment of Guards, and divisions of other regiments, broke out into open mutiny, on the ground that they were furnished with clothes and linen that were not fit to be worn on the royal birth-day. The Duke of Marlborough, who had succeeded Ormond as Captain-General, sallied from his house in the Mall, and made a speech to the soldiers in the park. But some of the men stripped off their jackets and shirts, and flung them over the wall of the duke's garden and of that behind St. James's Palace, while others, hoisting the linen garments on poles, paraded them about the streets, exclaiming, "Look at our Hanover shirts!" Reparation was promised, the army agents and tradesmen were blamed, and the men were enjoined to burn clothes and shirts in front of Whitehall,—an order which they obeyed with alacrity. Amid it all, the little Princess Caroline, youngest daughter of the Prince and Princess of Wales, who had arrived only two days before in London, took her first drive in public. Her little highness must have been startled at the contrast between the noisy metropolis and the quiet city of Hanover; the streets of the latter all tranquillity, those of the former full of prostrate Whigs, knocked down by strong-armed Tories for refusing to join in the shout of "High Church and the Duke of Ormond."

The duke gained little by his popularity, for he, in common with Bolingbroke and other lords, were impeached on the charge of high treason. The far-seeing eye of the king, however, looked beyond such offenders as these; and while peers and commoners were being committed to prison, or were flying from the country, a poor cobbler was whipped from Holloway to Highgate for no more grievous offence than reflecting upon certain measures of the government. The university of Oxford was as free of thought, act, and expression as the cobbler of Holloway. The attainder of Ormond deprived him of his university chancellorship, whereupon King George set up the Prince of Wales as a candidate for the

office. Oxford, to show its contempt for the new dynasty, rejected the prince, and chose Lord Arran, the Duke of Ormond's brother. The king was so vexed that he wished himself back again at Hanover, and perhaps it was his vexation which prompted him, at this very time, to order an increase of rigor to be inflicted upon his poor imprisoned wife at Ahlden. Nor did he spare Oxford; whither a detachment of dragoons was sent, under the command of a major, appropriately named Pepper, who suddenly seized upon such members of the university as were suspected of being more inclined to "James the Eighth of Scotland," than to "George the First of England."

Meanwhile, less noble offenders were punished with more severity, and Tyburn-tree creaked with the weight of men who had enlisted soldiers for the pretender. At this moment, the Duke of Somerset gave up his office of master of the horse, and the husband of Sophia Dorothea appointed to the vacant post, the German lady, Mademoiselle von Schulemberg, mistress of the monarch and the mews! The son of Sophia Dorothea also succeeded in obtaining office, and the rejected of the University of Oxford was elected Chancellor by the University of Dublin.

In the mean time the failure of the rebellion in Scotland had given the king joy, but had not inspired him with mercy. Executions were of daily occurrence, and when the president of the council, the Earl of Nottingham, ventured to suggest that the royal prerogative of mercy was the brightest gem in a kingly crown, he was turned out of his place, and all his kinsmen who were in office were similarly treated. The king, however, granted their lives to several of the prisoners taken on the pretender's side, but nearly the whole of them perished in prison, through the severity of the season and the want of the necessaries of life.

The first year of the accession of George was certainly not an untroubled one, and he, probably with all his grandeur, was less happy than the wife whom he held in such rigorous captivity. The very heavens themselves seemed to threaten him, and we are expressly told in the journals of the time, that the year ended with dire phenomena in the sky, columns and pillars of continually flashing light, carrying terror into the minds of all beholders, who,

lacking simple knowledge, deemed that the heavens were not less out of joint than the earth.

In the following year, the government exhibited little sense in the application of their power. The wearing of oak-boughs on the 29th of May, in memory of the restoration, was deemed an insult to the government: two soldiers were whipped (almost to death) in Hyde Park, for carrying oak-apples in their caps, and guards were posted in the streets to prevent all persons from carrying white roses, some bearers of which were, on refusal to surrender this badge, very unceremoniously shot by the rude soldiery. The king complacently told his faithful commons that all his money had been wasted on the Jacobite faction, and had been met by ingratitude and more active treason. The monarch's favors however were but inconsiderately scattered; and if the people could contemplate without regret, the nomination of his brother, Ernest Augustus, to be Duke of York and Albany, and Earl of Ulster, they were rather rough of comment when he raised Mademoiselle von Schulemberg to the dignities of Baroness of Dundalk, Countess of Dungannon, Duchess of Munster, and finally, Duchess of Kendal.

In contrast with these palace incidents, I may notice an incident of the streets. It is recorded by Salmon in the "Chronological Historian," under the date of July 23, 1716, and is to this effect:—"The sons of Whiggism, having assembled at a mug-house, in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, after they were a little elevated, ventured to attack some Tories, who were got together in the Swan ale-house, over against them; whereupon the Tories returned their visit, drove them to their head-quarters, and demolished the bar, wainscot, &c. below stairs; whereupon the mug-house sent for arms and assistance, and one of the Tory men was shot dead upon the spot by the master of the mug-house, which so provoked the other side, that had not the guards come in to the assistance of the mug gentlemen, a severe revenge had probably been taken." Although the Whigs were the original aggressors, the Tories were the most severely punished; "five of them (two of whom were brothers) were convicted of felony, in not dispersing themselves on the reading of the proclamation at the late riot, near the mug-house

in Salisbury Court, and were hanged at the end of Salisbury Court, in Fleet Street, the 22d inst." (September.) A further incident worth narrating is, that the bearers at the funeral of one of these executed men, were arrested, and "fined 20 marks a-piece," for "wearing their favors" in St. Bride's church-yard. The people were indignant at such oppression; and when, on the 9th of November, the Princess of Wales gave birth to a still-born son, the Tories looked upon the event as a judgment, and even hoped for the entire failure of the royal line. The king was in Hanover at the time, when he invested his brother the Duke of York, and Prince Frederick with the order of the Garter. He even partook of the pleasures of the chase in the woods around Ahlden; but except ordering a more stringent rule for the safe-keeping of his consort, he took no further notice of Sophia Dorothea. He returned to London on the 18th January, 1716–17, and on that day week, hearing that the episcopal clergy of Scotland continued to refuse to pray for him, he issued a decree, which compelled many to fly the country, or otherwise abscond. The English clergy experienced even harsher treatment for less offence. I may mention, as an instance, the case of the Rev. Laurence Howell, who for writing a pamphlet called "The State of Schism in the Church of England truly stated," was stripped of his gown by the executioner, fined 500*l*., imprisoned three years, and twice publicly whipped by the hangman!

On the 2nd of November, 1717, the Princess of Wales gave birth to a son, who was christened by the name of George William, at St. James's, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 28th of the same month; the king and the Duke of Newcastle were godfathers, and the Duchess of St. Alban's godmother. On the following day, the Prince of Wales, by order of his father, removed from St. James's, and went to reside at the house of the Princess's chamberlain, the Earl of Grantham's, in Arlington Street. The princess accompanied him, but their children remained at the palace.

This removal is connected with a palace incident of some interest. The Prince of Wales had wished that his uncle, the Duke of York, Bishop of Osnaburg, should be, with the king, sponsor to

his child. George I. peremptorily named the Duke of Newcastle as co-sponsor, and would hear of no other. The duke, then secretary of state, was hateful to the prince, whom he treated with studied neglect; and when the ceremony of christening had been brought to a close in the princess's bed-chamber, the prince crossed from the foot of the bed where he had been standing with his wife's maids of honor, to the side of the bed where the duke was standing near the king, and there holding up his hand and forefinger menacingly, said, in broken English, "You are a rascal, but I shall find you,"—meaning, "I shall find a time to be revenged." The king, affecting to understand this as a challenge to fight, placed his son under arrest; but soon releasing him therefrom, turned him out of the palace, retaining the three eldest daughters, who resided with him till his decease.

The dissensions between George I. and his son are said to have arisen long previous to the accession of the former. The respect which the prince once entertained for his mother Sophia Dorothea, may have had much to do with the matter, but politics had also something to do therewith. Before the Act of Settlement, the Electress Sophia was a Jacobite in principle; "but," says Walpole, "no sooner had King William procured a settlement of the crown, after Queen Anne, on her electoral highness, than nobody became a stauncher Whig than the Princess Sophia, nor could be more impatient to mount the throne of the exiled Stuarts. It is certain that during the reign of Anne, the Elector George was inclined to the Tories; though after his mother's death, and his own accession, he gave himself to the opposite party. But if he and his mother espoused different factions, Sophia found a ready partisan in her grandson the electoral prince; and it is true that the demand made by the prince of his writ of summons to the House of Lords, as Duke of Cambridge, which no wonder was so offensive to Queen Anne, was made in concert with his grandmother, without the privity of the elector his father." To these causes of offence may be added the royal sire's jealousy, as is supposed, of his son. On the first absence of the king from England, the Prince of Wales was appointed regent, but he was never intrusted with that high office a second time. "It is probable," says Walpole, "that the

son discovered too much fondness for acting the king, as that the father conceived a jealousy of his having done so. Sure it is, that on the king's return, great divisions arose in the court, and the Whigs were divided,—some devoting themselves to the wearer of the crown, and others to the expectant." So that, in the second year of his reign, the king not only held his wife in prison, but his son and heir was banished from his presence. He even went so far as to declare to the peers and peeresses of Great Britain and Ireland, and to all privy councillors and their wives, that if any of them should go to the court of the Prince and Princess of Wales, they should forbear to come into his majesty's presence. At the same time that this example of family division was being given to the kingdom, George I. created Prince Frederick, the eldest son of the Prince of Wales, Duke of Gloucester; and a day or two later, the little Prince George William, at whose christening the scene of violence had occurred, died at the age of three months and three days. The body was privately interred in Westminster Abbey on the 12th of February, the Bishop of Rochester reading the funeral service. At this time the Prince of Wales had retired to the house in "Leicester Fields," which he had recently purchased. This house stood in the northeast corner of the square, and was originally built by the Earl of Leicester, father of Waller's "Sacharissa." The earl let it to persons of "condition," after ceasing to reside in it himself. There died the mother of the Electress Sophia. It was subsequently, and successively, occupied by the French and German ambassadors, and it was thence (when the Emperor of Germany's envoy resided there) that Beau Fielding procured the priest who married him privately, in Pall Mall, to Mrs. Mary Wadsworth.

About a month after the Prince of Wales had purchased Leicester House, he was nearly called upon to leave it again, for the palace, by the attempt at assassination made by a lad, named Shepherd, upon George I. This was on the 6th of March, 1717. The young assassin was only eighteen years of age, and was apprentice to a coach-painter. He looked upon the act as being so meritorious, that when Lord Chesterfield, just previous to his execution, asked what he would do if the king forgave his attempt to shoot

him, the boy replied, "I would do it again." He met his fate at Tyburn without exhibiting the slightest mark of fear; and Chesterfield said of him, that "Reason declared him to be a Regulus, but that silly Prejudice was against it." The most important public affair of the following year was the signing of the quadruple alliance treaty between Great Britain, France, Germany, and Holland, whereby these powers were, among other obligations, bound to support the succession to the British crown as fixed by the present law of the land.

Passing over the record of public events, the next interesting fact connected with the private life of the faithless husband of Sophia Dorothea, was the marriage of his daughter Charlotte, of whom Madame Kielmansegge (his younger mistress) was the mother, with Lord Viscount Howe (of the kingdom of Ireland). The bride was never publicly acknowledged as the daughter of the king, but the Princess Amelia, daughter of George II., "treated Lady Howe's daughter, 'Mistress Howe,' as a princess of the blood-royal, and presented her with a ring, containing a small portrait of George I., with a crown in diamonds." The best result of this marriage was, that the famous Admiral Howe was a descendant of the contracting parties, and that was the only benefit which the country derived from the vicious conduct of George I. If the marriage of the child of one mistress tended to mortify the vanity of another, as is said to have been the case with the Schulemberg, King George found a way to pacify her. That lady was already Duchess of Munster, in Ireland, and the king, in April, 1719, created her a baroness, countess, and duchess of Great Britain, by the name, style, and title of Baroness of Glastonbury, Countess of Feversham, and Duchess of Kendal; and this done, the king soon after embarked at Gravesend for Hanover. It was during his absence that a Spanish invasion of Scotland, by a small force, in conjunction with a body of Highlanders, in behalf of the pretender, was promptly suppressed by General Wightman, to whom the whole of the Spaniards, some three hundred men only, surrendered at discretion.

The year 1720 saw King George more upon the Continent than at home, where indeed universal misery reigned, in conse-

quence of the bursting of the great South Sea bubble, which had promised such golden solidity,—which ended in such disappointment and ruin, and for furthering which the Duchess of Kendal and her daughter received bribes of 10,000*l.* each. In April of the following year, William Augustus was born at Leicester House. The daughter of Sophia Dorothea was his godmother; her husband and the Duke of York were the godfathers. This son of George Augustus and Caroline of Anspach, Prince and Princess of Wales, was afterwards famous as the Duke of Cumberland. It was in July of this same year that the king conveyed to the House of Commons the pleasant piece of information that the debts on his civil list amounted to more than half a million. He asked that body to provide for the payment of the same, and the obsequious house did what was asked of it! No wonder that on the anniversary of the restoration, seditious oak-apples were seen in the citizens' hats; that on the 10th of June, the pretender's birth-day, white roses decorated their button-holes; and that on the 23d of August, Queen Anne's natal day, there was much toasting of the memory of a queen who, throughout her reign, had not cost her country the blood and treasure which that country paid in any single year for her successor. It was scarcely a month after the royal request to the representatives of the people to pay the penalty of the king's extravagance, by advancing above half a million of money, when he quartered his mistress, Sophia Charlotte, Madame Kielmansegge, on the civil list of Ireland, and dignified the act by creating her Countess of Leinster!

On the 17th of January, 1721, the royal family went into mourning, and this was the only domestic incident of the reign in which Sophia Dorothea was allowed to participate. With her, the mourning was not a mere formality; it was not assumed, but was a testimony offered, in sign of her sorrow, for the death of her mother Eleanora, Duchess of Zell. In an anonymous biography of her daughter, the duchess is said to have died on the 24th of February, 1722, but the Court of St. James's went into mourning for her on the 11th of February of the preceding year. She had seen little of her daughter for some time previous to her death, but

she bequeathed to her as much of her private property as she had power to dispose of by will.

Sophia Dorothea had now a considerable amount of funds placed to her credit in the bank of Amsterdam. Of the incidents of her captivity nothing whatever is known, save that it was most rigidly maintained. She was forgotten by the world, because unseen, and they who kept her in prison were as silent about her as the keepers of the Man in the Iron Mask were about that mysterious object of their solicitude. Where little is known, there is little to be told. The captive bore her restraint with a patience which even her daughter must have admired; but she was not without hopes of escaping from a thraldom from which, it was clear, she could never be released by the voluntary act of those who kept her in an undeserved custody. It is believed that her funds at Amsterdam were intended by her to be disposed of in the purchase of aid to secure her escape; but it is added that her agents betrayed her, embezzled her property, and by revealing for what purpose they were her agents, brought upon her a closer arrest than any under which she had hitherto suffered. Romance has made some additions to these items of intelligence,—items, great portions of which rest only on conjecture. The undoubted fact that much of the property which she inherited was to pass to her children, rendered the death of a mother a consummation to be desired by so indifferent a son and daughter as the Prince of Wales and the Queen of Prussia. The interest held by her husband was of a similar description, and the fatal consequences that might follow were not unprovided for by the friends of the prisoner. "It is known," says Walpole, "that in Queen Anne's time there was much noise about French prophets. A female of that vocation (for we know from Scripture that the gift of prophecy is not limited to one gender) warned George I. to take care of his wife, as he would not survive her a year. That oracle was probably dictated to the French Deborah by the Duke and Duchess of Zell, who might be apprehensive that the Duchess of Kendal might be tempted to remove entirely the obstacle to her conscientious union with their son-in-law. Most Germans are superstitious, even such as have few other impressions of religion. George gave such credit to the

denunciation, that, on the eve of his last departure, he took leave of his son and the Princess of Wales with tears, telling them he should never see them more. It was certainly his own approaching end that melted him, not the thought of quitting for ever two persons that he hated."

But both parties had yet a few years to live, and one of them some honors to bestow. It was almost in the same hour that George wrote directions for the stricter keeping of his wife, and signed the patents for raising his mistress in the peerage. On the same day, "Sophia Charlotte von Platen, Countess of Leinster, in Ireland," was raised to the rank of Baroness of Brentford, and Countess of Darlington, in England; and the king's illegitimate daughter, Melusina de Schulemberg, *niece* (as the patent lyingly declared) of the Duchess of Kendal, was created Baroness of Aldborough and Countess of Walsingham. This was on the 10th of April, 1722. That day week the Prince of Wales made a better trial upon the admiration of the public, by having his two daughters, Amelia and Caroline, inoculated for the small-pox; a trial which ended favorably, as it deserved to do. "The quality," says the papers of the day, "would have universally followed this example, but for the death of the infant son of the Earl of Sunderland, who died of small-pox after inoculation." The family of the Prince of Wales was increased, in the year 1722, by the birth of a daughter—Mary.

The last foreign favorite of George I., Sophia Charlotte von Platen, Countess of Darlington, did not long enjoy the new honors conferred upon her by the king; she died in the month of April, 1724. This death was followed soon after by that of the king's brother, Maximilian William, a colonel in the service of the emperor. He was a rigid Roman Catholic, as were others of his family; and, at the time of his death, which occurred at Vienna, he was in the sixtieth year of his age. On the 2nd of November, 1726, a death, which should have more nearly touched the king, took place in Germany. On the day named, in the Castle of Ahlden, calmly, and almost unobservedly, died the poor princess, "Queen of Great Britain," as those who loved her were wont to call her,—after a captivity of more than thirty years. She had

been long in declining health, born of declining hopes; and yet she endured all things with patience, contenting herself in her last moments with reasserting her innocence, commending herself to God, naming her children, and pardoning her oppressors. Thus much is generally known; but there is little further reliable information. She was a prisoner, and she died: and such is the amount of what is really known concerning her, after she was cloistered up within the limits of the castle and estate at Ahlden. Her royal husband simply notified in the *Gazette*, that a Duchess of Ahlden had died at her residence, on the date above named; but he did not add that he had thereby lost a wife, or his children lost a mother. No intimation was given of the relationship she held towards him or them; but his *ire* burst forth into an explosion of rage, when he heard that his daughter, with the court of Prussia, had gone into mourning for the death of her mother. The amiable father and king, having thus exhibited the character of his own feeling, proceeded to manifest that of his very bad taste. It was shortly after the demise of his consort, not that he had *waited* for the event, that he raised to the infamy of being his "favorite" an English woman, named Ann Brett, half-sister of Savage the poet,—their common mother, the repudiated wife of the Earl of Macclesfield, having married that rakish gentleman Colonel Brett, by whom she became the mother of Ann, *in* whom the foreign sovereign of England paid the nation the compliment, as Walpole satirically says, of taking openly an English mistress. Miss Brett, unlike the other royal concubines, resided in St. James's Palace. "Abishag," says Walpole, "was lodged in the palace under the eyes of Bathsheba, who seemed to maintain her power, as other favorite sultânas have done, by suffering partners in the sovereign's affections." George intended to have honored her, and dishonored the peerage, by raising her to the rank of a countess. Three of the grand-daughters of the king also resided in the palace, and "Anne, the eldest, a woman," says Mr. Cunningham, "of a most imperious and ambitious nature, soon came to words with the English mistress of her grandfather." After the king repaired, for the last time, to Hanover, Miss Brett ordered a door to be broken in the wall of her apartment, in order

that she might have access by it to the royal gardens. In these gardens the Princess Anne was accustomed to walk, and not desiring Miss Brett for a companion, she ordered the door to be bricked up. "Abishag" had the obstruction removed, and the Princess again bricked up the concubine; and thus went on the war between them, until news of the death of the unworthy grandfather of the one, and the wretched old lover of the other, put an end to the conflict, and to many other matters besides.

Not long before his majesty set out on his last continental journey, his bronze statue, erected in Grosvenor-square, was, on one dark night, treated with great indignity. Its limbs were hacked and mutilated, the neck was hewn into, as if an attempt had been made to decapitate it, and a seditious libel affixed to the breast. With this type of the national feeling impressed upon his mind, the king set out for Hanover on the 3rd of June, 1727. On the night of that day week he died at Osnaburgh, aged sixty-seven years and thirteen days. The king had landed at Vaer, in Holland, on the 7th, and he travelled thence to Utrecht, by land, escorted by the Guards to the frontiers of Holland. On Friday, the 9th, he reached Dalden, at twelve at night, when he was apparently in exellent health. He partook of supper largely, and with appetite, eating, among other things, part of a melon, a fruit that has killed more than one emperor of Germany. At three the next morning he resumed his journey; but he had not travelled two hours when he was attacked by violent abdominal pains. He hurried on to Linden, where dinner awaited him; but being able to eat nothing, he was immediately bled, and other remedies made use of. Anxious to reach Hanover, he ordered the journey to be continued with all speed. He fell into a lethargic doze in the carriage, and so continued, leaning on a gentleman in waiting, who was with him in the carriage. To this attendant he feebly announced in French, "I am a dead man." He reached the episcopal palace at Osnaburgh at ten that night; he was again bled in the arm and foot; but ineffectually: his lethargy increased, and he died about midnight.

A well-known story is told by Walpole, to the effect that George, "in a tender mood, promised to the Duchess of Kendal, that if she

survived him, and it were possible for the departed to return to this world, he would make her a visit. The duchess, on his death, so much expected the accomplishment of that engagement, that a large raven, or some black fowl, flying into the windows of her villa, at Isleworth" (Twickenham?), "she was persuaded it was the soul of her departed monarch so accoutred, and received and treated it with all the respect and tenderness of duty, till this royal bird or she took their last flight."

CHAPTER XIII.

BERENGARIA AND SOPHIA DOROTHEA;—CŒUR DE LION, AND GEORGE OF HANOVER.

I HAVE already remarked, that of all the queens of England there were two who never landed on the shores of the country of which they were nominally the queens. Those two were Berengaria, the consort of Cœur de Lion, and Sophia Dorothea, wife of George of Hanover. Nor were these the only circumstances in the lives of the two princesses which were similar: there were many other passages between which a parallel may be drawn, and which may be appropriately brought before the notice of, at least, younger readers.

Berengaria, the Navarrese princess, was not a first love of Richard Cœur de Lion. The latter had wooed Alice of France before he became struck with the beauty of Berengaria, at a tournament, and made her an offer of his hand. In similar manner, George Louis had wooed, but was not engaged to, Anne (as Richard was to Alice) before he sought in marriage the youthful Sophia of Zell.

It was in each case the mother of the lover who made the demand for the lady's hand; and Berengaria was as eagerly surrendered to Eleanor, the mother of Richard, by her father Sancho the Wise, as Sophia Dorothea was to Sophia of Hanover, by her sire, the Duke of Zell. It may here be noticed, that however similar the destinies of the ladies, there was nothing alike in the characters

of their respective fathers, saving only in their love for being surrounded by foreigners, and especially by Frenchmen. In the case of the father of Sophia Dorothea, this inclination was taught him by his Gallic wife. On one occasion, at a court dinner, when the whole of the duke's guests were found to be Frenchmen, one of them, more truly than courteously, remarked, that "Il n'y a d'etranger ici que monseigneur" (his highness is the only foreigner present;) a remark that might have been made at the table of the Spanish Sancho of Navarre, who was surrounded by poets and minstrels from other, and sometimes far-distant, lands.

Berengaria and Richard were espoused at Limoussa, in Cyprus, and there was as much rude pomp at the wedding as of cumbrous ceremony at that of Sophia and George Louis. The former solemnity followed upon much wandering about by sea and land, before the affianced couple met at Cyprus, where Richard first overthrew the power of Isaac, the sovereign, and took possession of his dominions, before he espoused his "ladye," and crowned her Queen of Cyprus as well as of England. George Louis had no opportunity to accomplish any achievement of a like nature; but he very much resembled the wild bridegroom in the act which followed. When Richard captured Isaac, there also surrendered to him Isaac's daughter, and the English king placed the fair Cypriote in the train of his newly-married wife, where she held an office similar to that which George Louis bestowed on Mademoiselle von Schulemberg, when he appointed her maid of honor to Sophia Dorothea.

But Berengaria was more fortunate than Sophia, in one thing; she had a faithful friend, and that friend a woman,—Joanna, her sister-in-law; and the two

> Held each other dear,
> And lived as doves in cage.

Sophia had as friend only Prince Philip, the brother of her husband, and he communicated little with her, save through his confidant,—the presuming and ill-destined Count Königsmark. It may be added that Richard was more justly punished for his infidelities than George, seeing that the scandals which connected the name of the Cypriote lady with that of the English king, touched the

honor of the house of Austria, related to her by the alliance of the Arch-Duke Leopold with the family of the Comneni; and these scandals commenced the feud between Leopold and Richard, for which the latter paid so dearly by his captivity in Austria.

In the meantime, throughout the Syrian campaign, the "heiress of Cyprus" remained near the presence of Berengaria, who had already nearly outlived the liking of her lord. Sophia Dorothea saw as swift a change in the fidelity of *her* lord. Richard proceeded on his way, however, at the conclusion of the campaign, in a ship belonging to a master of the Temple. How this ship was wrecked, and how its royal passenger was ultimately made a prisoner, need not here be told. The vessel which bore Berengaria, Joanna, and that unwelcome lady of Cyprus—all under the guardianship of a suburban knight, named Sir Stephen of Turnham—arrived safely at Naples, where the ladies landed, and thence proceeded to Rome. After long delays, and much trouble, they travelled to Pisa, Genoa, and again by ship to Marseilles. From the latter port they were escorted by the crusader Raymond de St. Gilles, who very naturally fell in love with Joanna by the way, and very aptly celebrated the arrival of the party in Poitou by marrying, and making a happy countess of the young and well-endowed friend of Berengaria.

At Poitou, Berengaria remained during her royal husband's captivity. The Cypriote princess continued to reside with her; a fact which says much for her Griselda-like patience. When, however, it was intimated that the Archduke of Austria would not consent to the liberation of Richard but on condition, among other stipulations, that the daughter of Isaac should be taken from the household of Richard and be delivered to her Austrian relatives at the German Congress, the spouse of Richard, no doubt, paid that portion of the ransom with all the eagerness of an unselfish wife.

The payment never brought the truant husband nearer to his wife, than George ever was to Sophia Dorothea, after the intrigues of his and his father's mistresses had made two hearths in one household. Richard hurried to England, and thence to his Angevin territories. Here he was in the vicinity of the dwelling-place

of his faithful queen, but he never approached her, nor showed more solicitude for her than George Louis did, when hunting in the Ahlden woods, for the guiltless prisoner in the castle there.

In both cases, the husbands were given to low debauchery, profligate company, and riotous living. In both cases, the husbands made two overtures of reconciliation, which in both cases were not indeed ineffectual, because in the case of the earlier espoused couple, the wife had not been degraded by an accusation of infidelity made by her husband,—an accusation that was insultingly implied by George Louis in his persecution of Sophia Dorothea. The reconciliation alluded to took place in 1196, five years after the marriage had taken place in Cyprus; nearly the whole of which time had been spent in presence of the revelry of the Cypriote princess, or in estrangement from Richard. The re-union lasted three years; and had it been followed by the birth of an heir to England, it would have saved the country from the career of John, John himself from the sin of the murder of Arthur, and the kingdom from being put under interdict because John was dishonest enough to cheat Berengaria out of her dower.

Berengaria passed a long widowhood at Mans, in extent of time equal to that of the captivity of Sophia Dorothea at Ahlden. But she was a happier, and perhaps something of a more patient, woman than the latter. Even in her estrangement from her husband, she never uttered a word of complaint against him. Not that Sophia Dorothea failed to exhibit either mildness or dignity in her captivity: on the contrary, she manifested both; and Coxe says of her, in his Memoirs of Walpole, that, "on receiving the sacrament once every week, she never omitted making the most solemn asseverations that she was not guilty of the crime laid to her charge." The two wives resembled each other in personal beauty, and in amiability of disposition. There was less similarity between the external appearance of their respective husbands. George Louis was small of stature, an ill dresser in his early days, and an equally bad one in declining years, when Walpole described him as "an elderly man, pale, exactly like his pictures and coins, not tall, of an aspect rather good than august; with a dark tie wig, a plain coat, waistcoat and breeches of snuff-colored cloth, with stockings of the same

color, and a blue riband over all." Quite another figure was Richard in his satin tunic of rose color, belted round his waist; his mantle of silver tissue, striped, and brocaded with silver half-moons, his Damascus sword, gold-hilted and silver-sheathed; and his scarlet bonnet, brocaded in gold with figures of animals. He had yellow, or flaxen hair, golden locks, indeed, a bright complexion, a soldierly bearing, and a graceful figure: but the hearts of Richard and George were very much alike; neither of them could appreciate the worth of a true woman, pure of mind, refined of taste, and guiltless of wrong, even in thought.

We have raised statues to George, but have discreetly hidden them in the shrubberies, dust and duskiness of our squares. One was raised to him even in his life-time; but it is only within a year or two that the question has been agitated of erecting a statue in honor of the husband of Berengaria. This question has been affirmatively maintained by men who oppose the admission of the statue of Cromwell among those of the masters of England in the House of Parliament. Upon the matter of Cromwell's statue I must not dilate, more than to say, that the difficulty lies in a very small compass. If the sovereigns of England are to be faithfully represented according to their succession, then Cromwell cannot be excluded; and if his exclusion is determined upon because he was usurper, or regicide, then must there be unoccupied pedestals from Rufus to Stephen, both inclusive; and John, the third Richard, and indeed several others, must also be refused admission, on the ground that they were assassins or usurpers, and sometimes both.

But if the people mutilated the statue of the husband of Sophia Dorothea in his life-time, because of his unworthiness, still more might their successors protest against one being raised in honor of that husband of the other Queen of England who never came among us to claim our homage.

Richard was even a worse son than George. The two men were faithless as husbands, brutal as lovers, truthless and bloody as princes. There was no respect for the honor of any woman in the heart of either of them; and they further resembled each other in this, that in their early days they had more affection for the political system of France, as regarded this country, than for that of Eng-

land. Of the ten years of the triply-accursed reign of the one, scarcely more than half as many months were spent by him among the people confided by Providence to his sway. George ranks next to him as an absentee; he was forever seeking an opportunity to visit Hanover, and, when there, devising excuses for not returning. Richard sold the highest offices of the crown, and squandered the money on the gratification of his beastly vices. George was quite as unscrupulous, and gave offices even to his mistresses. The husband of Berengaria was more criminal in his fraudulent sale of crown-lands, as well as crown-offices, of titles, and of church-preferments; in some of which things the husband of Sophia Dorothea, or his government, was by no means particular.

When Richard was about setting out for Acre, he instituted the Order of the Blue Thong, the insignia of which was a blue band of leather worn on the left leg, and which appears to me to be the undoubted original of the Order of the Garter. There were twenty-four knights of the Order, with the king for Master, and the wearers pledged themselves to deserve increased honors by scaling the walls of Acre in company. On the other hand, if George did not institute, he at least restored the Order of the Bath. It was a measure proposed to him by Sir Robert Walpole, and "was an artful bank of thirty-six ribands to supply a fund of favors in lieu of places." Two of the ribands were offered to Sarah, Dowager-Duchess of Marlborough, for her grandson the duke, and for the Duke of Bedford, the husband of her granddaughter. "She haughtily replied," says Walpole, "they should take nothing but the Garter. 'Madam,' said Sir Robert coolly, 'they who have the Bath, will the sooner have the Garter.' The next year he took the latter himself, with the Duke of Richmond, both having been previously installed knights of the revived institution."

Richard sold the trophies of his former victories for a cap-full of marks; and his refusal to adequately avenge the slaughter of the Jews at his coronation, with the assertion of assassins who perpetrated the deed, that they acted under his sanction,—all tends to show how little he really prized honor, and how as little he regarded the spilling of blood. So George, if brave, was not chivalrous; and when his own Parliament, on the conviction of the Scottish

peers who had taken arms for the pretender, petitioned him to spare as many as his mercy might be consistently extended to, he haughtily reproved them for meddling with matters which did not concern them, and took a bloody vengeance for a venial crime. It would have been bloodier but that several destined victims escaped from their prison previous to the day named for their execution.

Both these men were, however, brave in the presence of an enemy on the battle-field. Courage was almost their solitary virtue; and George, unlike Richard, never ran away in affright from the wrath and the cudgel of an infuriated peasant. It may further be put to the credit of the husband of Sophia Dorothea, that he was incapable of such a crime as that committed by the husband of Berengaria, after the capitulation at Acre, when he ordered the throats of thousands of the enemy to be cut, who had surrendered upon faith of honorable treatment. If some of the Jacobites were entrapped into a surrender which led them to the gallows, the agents of George, and not that king himself, must be declared responsible, despite the apophthegm which says, *qui facit per alium facit per se.*

Richard plundered his country in order to carry on a crusade under the influence of "a red rag and insanity." His deputies plundered in his absence, and the people were plundered of one-fourth of their property, to purchase his return. When that return had taken place, he deprived of their offices all those persons to whom he had before his departure sold them, on the plea that such sales were illegal. He did not refund the original purchase-money, but he resold the appointments to other buyers. There was as great an unlawful buying and selling in George's time, but the system was more blamable than the individual who presided over it; although he alone is answerable for the application of the people's taxes to support the glittering profligacy of his mistresses. He was at least careful to contract the expenses of his civil list—after he had gone far enough beyond honest limits to have acquired sufficient surplus money to support the expenses of the list during the remainder of his reign, and after he had persuaded his parliament to make good the defalcation. Both kings mulcted their subjects heavily, to support wars against a foreign power, and neither paid much regard to either remonstrance or complaint. They were both

covetous; Richard the more so. Covetousness brought about his death. The Lord of Limoges had discovered a treasure, and because he would not give the whole of it to Richard, the latter besieged him in his castle, before which he was slain, by a bolt driven from a cross-bow of his own invention. George, like him, died abroad, but more ingloriously. It was rather gluttony than covetousness, in its pecuniary sense, which compassed his death. Had he not eaten indiscreetly of melon, in spite of counsel to the contrary, he might, perhaps, have lived longer. But appetite he could not constrain. Richard had a strong one, but it was "nicer" of character. George, for instance, was fond of oysters,—not fresh English natives, but tainted things, with sickly yawning shells, and these he would swallow with disgusting relish and avidity.

Richard does not bear the reputation of being a tender father, even to his illegitimate children, and he had no other. George was as little parentally tender to his legitimate son and daughter; to the former he was especially harsh, and more than harsh, if we may credit the story, that he received from the Earl of Berkeley (first lord of the Admiralty) a written proposal, to seize the Prince of Wales, and convey him to America, where he should never be heard of more. The proposal was Berkeley's, but the handwriting in which it was made was Charles Stanhope's, brother of the first Earl of Harrington. On the death of the king, Queen Caroline found the proposal among other papers in his cabinet. It referred to an atrocious deed, and Walpole thinks that George I. was too humane to listen to it; a very gratuitous surmise, for the treatment of Sophia Dorothea was only less atrocious in degree, not in principle. Besides, the projectors were never punished. "It was not very kind to the conspirators," says Walpole, "to leave such an instrument behind him; and," he adds, "if virtue and conscience will not check bold, bad men from paying court by detestable offices, the king's carelessness, or indifference, in such an instance, ought to warn them of the little gratitude that such machinations can inspire or expect."

This son's double fault in his father's eyes was his popularity, and, at one time, his love for his mother,—whom he loved, we are told, as much as he hated his father. A pleasant household, a

sorry hearth; mistresses resting their rouged cheeks on the monarch's bosom, a wife in prison, and a son hating her oppressor, and loving, but not redressing the oppressed. If Berengaria was unblessed with a child, she was untried by no huge and lengthened wrong as that inflicted on Sophia Dorothea. Had the latter helpless lady survived her consort, her son, it is said, had determined to bring her over to England, and proclaim her queen-dowager. Lady Suffolk, the snubbed mistress of that son, expressed to Horace Walpole her surprise in going (in the morning after the intelligence of the death of George I. had reached England) to the new queen, the wife of the man of whom Lady Suffolk was the concubine rather than the "mistress,"—expressed, as I have said, her surprise, at seeing, hung up in the queen's dressing-room, a whole length of a lady in royal robes; and, in the bed-chamber, a half-length of the same person, neither of which Lady Suffolk had ever seen before. The prince had kept them concealed, not daring to produce them during the life of his father. The whole-length he probably sent to Hanover. The half-length I have frequently seen in the library of the Princess Amelia, who told me it was the property of her grandmother. She bequeathed it, with other pictures of her family, to her nephew, the Landgrave of Hesse."

Smollett describes George I. rather whimsically, as "a wise politician, who perfectly understood, and steadily pursued his own interest." If this be true policy, it is also, at least in part, a selfish one. His character partook of both the grave and gay. He knew when he might fitly be either, but he was naturally more serious than light of deportment and disposition. Smollett declares him to have been willing to govern the kingdom according to constitutional principles, but that he was thwarted by a venal and corrupt ministry. The character of the government is not over-charged, and the members of it would, as Richard expressed his own willingness to do, have sold London itself, the honor of its men, and the virtue of its women, if they could have found purchasers.

The character drawn by Chesterfield of the husband of Sophia Dorothea is seriously drawn, but it has a solemnly satirical air. "George I.," says my lord, "was an honest, dull, German gentleman, as unfit as unwilling to act the part of a king, which is to

shine and oppress; lazy and inactive even in his pleasures, which were therefore lowly sensual. He was diffident of his own parts, which made him speak little in public, and prefer in his social, which were his favorite, hours the company of wags and buffoons. Even his mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, with whom he passed most of his time, and who had all influence over him, was very little above an idiot.

"Importunity alone could make him act, and then only to get rid of it. His views and affections were singly confined to the narrow compass of his electorate. England was too big for him. If he had nothing great as a king, he had nothing bad as a man; and if he does not adorn, at least he will not stain the annals of this country. In private life he would have been loved and esteemed as a good citizen, a good friend, and a good neighbor. Happy were it for Europe, happy for the world, if there were not greater kings in it."

Chesterfield makes more account of George I., both as king and as man, than he deserved. As king, he *does* stain the annals of the country over which he was called to rule. As man, Chesterfield holds him to have had that within him which made him worthy of esteem as a citizen, friend, and neighbor;—and yet he avers of such a man that he was lowly sensual and lazy; that he loved the company of buffoons, and that he preferred the society of a woman who was almost an idiot, to that of a wife who was accomplished, and whom he could never prove unfaithful. He was unfit for a king, we are told, because he was disinclined to oppression, and yet he kept that wife for more than thirty years a prisoner;—but oppression towards a wife was not a vice in the estimation of the courtly Chesterfield.

George had doubtless many minor provocations during his reign, calculated to affect his temper unfavorably. The pulpit occasionally re-echoed against him, as the priests more privately used to denounce the vices of Richard; and zealous clergymen, turned authors, took the white horse of Hanover as a symbol, and applied to it the passage from Revelations, in which it is said:—"I looked, and beheld a pale horse, and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him."

As a sample of the graciousness of the king, we are told that his carriage having been broken down on one occasion, when travelling to Hanover, he found temporary refuge in the house of a gentleman. In the room to which he was ushered, there hung the full length of a person unknown to him, yet in royal robes. The owner of the portrait, with some confusion, explained that he had known the Chevalier when at Rome, and that this picture was a present from him. The king is supposed to have been very gracious, because, instead of giving way to an explosion of wrath, he confined himself to observing, "upon my word, it is very like the family."

He received a severer touch from an old officer who had been intimate with him before his accession to the throne, but who did not appear to offer him congratulations upon his succeeding to the title. On inquiry being made as to the cause, the veteran replied, "I will willingly smoke a pipe with him as Elector of Hanover; but I cannot recognize in him a King of Great Britain!" Considering that half the Hanoverian family were Jacobites, this speech was not so perilous as it sounds. Besides the union of England with the electorate of Hanover was not popular in the latter locality, particularly when it was discovered that if Hanover was in any way wronged, England would not interfere to redress it, whereas no sooner was England at feud with any continental power, but Hanover was the first to feel that power's resentment.

His right to the throne was sometimes questioned, with ingenuity, even in England. Thus, when the flighty Duchess of Buckinghamshire was refused passage in her own carriage through a part of the park reserved for the royal family, she protested to the king, that if royalty only had the right of crossing the privileged line, he had no more claim to go there than she had. He wisely laughed, and gave permission to the mad duchess to drive whithersoever she pleased.

Although the king could not speak English, he appears to have understood it well enough when it was spoken, to save Sir Robert Walpole the trouble of addressing him in very indifferent Latin. He would hardly otherwise have had the great hall at Hampton Court fitted up, in 1718, for the performance of English plays.

The king's company were to have played there throughout the summer, but the hall was not ready for them till the end of September, by which time Drury-Lane re-opened for its usual autumn-winter season, and "his majesty's servants" played in his presence only seven times. They were under the direction of Steele, who, in place of being rewarded with a government appointment for his political services, had got nothing more than some theatrical privileges. The plays represented were "Hamlet," on the 23d September; "Sir Courtly Nice," "The Constant Couple," "Love for Money," "Volpone, or the Fox," and "Rule a Wife and have a Wife." Shakespeare's "Henry the Eighth" was the King's favorite play. On one night of its representation, he listened attentively to the scene in which Henry commands Wolsey to write letters of indemnity to those counties in which the payment of taxes had been disputed; and when he heard Wolsey's *aside* to Cromwell—

> Let it be noised
> That through *our* intervention, this revokement
> And pardon comes,

the king turned to the Prince of Wales, and said, "You see, George, what you have one day to expect." His majesty could not have been so very poor an English scholar, if he could thus enjoy, comprehend, and apply passages from Shakespeare. The other plays are, indeed, quite as difficult for a foreigner to understand; and George the First must have had a very fair acquaintance with our language, if he were able to follow Cibber in *Sir Courtly*, laugh at the jokes of Pinkethman in *Crack*, feel the heartiness of Miller in *Hothead*, be interested in the *Testimony* of Johnson, sympathetic with the *Surly* of Thurmond, enjoy the periods of Booth in *Farewell*, or the aristocratic spirit of Mills in *Lord Bellguard*. The ladies in the play, *Leonore*, acted before him by Mrs. Porter, and *Violante*, played by Mrs. Younger, have also some things to say that might well puzzle one not to the matter born. But George must have comprehended all; for he so thoroughly enjoyed all, that Steele told Lord Sunderland, on being asked how his majesty liked the entertainment,—"So terribly well, my lord, that I was afraid I should have lost all my actors; for I

was not sure the king would not keep them *to fill the places at court which he saw them so fit for in the play,*"—a remark thoroughly imbued with the trenchant wit of "Sir Richard."

For the entertainment, the king paid the travelling expenses of the actors down to Hampton, amounting to fifty pounds each night for the entire company, and sent a couple of hundred pounds to Steele and the other managers. That he loved the theatre is not surprising; the tastes of the stage were as gross as his own; and the descendant of Wodin could complacently savor the incense offered him in such lines as one which occurs in the "Generous Conqueror, or Timely Discovery," in which the author assured him that—

The gods and god-like kings can do no wrong!

Compared with which, the line of Cowper, which says, that

Great princes have great pleasures,

is very trite indeed.

Both George's laureates were indifferent poets. He appointed Rowe soon after his accession, and Eusden's lines to the lord-chamberlain (Duke of Newcastle) on his marriage with Lady Henrietta Godolphin, procured for that tipsy poet the battered laurel crown. So Cibber's "Nonjuror," written in favor of the Hanover succession, and against the Nonjurors and Jacobites, then abounding in London, got him such persecution from those rebellious persons, that it is supposed to have obtained for him, by way of compensation, the wreath of the laureate, presented by George II.

Toland describes George, when he was elector, and residing near the prison-house of Sophia Dorothea, as being exceedingly well-informed on English questions; but the truth is, he knew so little of the constitution and customs of the country over which he was to reign, that, on ascending the throne, he told his ministers that, from his want of knowledge on those subjects, he should place himself entirely in their hands, and be governed by them. "Then," added he, "you become completely answerable for everything that I do." He was not even aware of his constitutional exemption from responsibility.

If this looks like a low sort of cunning, on the other hand it

must be allowed that he was not without wit, and he could say a graceful thing in a graceful way, when an opportunity offered, and his humor wore its brighter side outwards. To a German nobleman, who once congratulated him on being sovereign at once of England and Hanover, he happily remarked,—"Rather congratulate me on having such a subject as Newton in the one, and Leibnitz in the other." His declaration of principles made to Sir Peter King, recorder of London, at the first levee after the accession, and intended, through that officer, for the edification of the citizens at large, was at least tersely, if not truly, given: "I never forsake a friend," so ran the phrase; "I will endeavor to do justice to everybody; and I fear nobody." Of the three parts of this sentence, the latter alone was founded on truth.

Less happy was the expression of an idea, called up by the splendor of his own coronation, when he observed to Lady Cooper that the sight of the place brought to his thoughts the day of judgment. The lady replied, in the taste of the day, and with little honesty of judgment, "Well may it be so, your majesty; for it is truly the resurrection of England and all faithful subjects."

More happy was his own answer, on being challenged by a masked lady at a court masquerade, to drink to the health of the pretender. "Very willingly," said he, "and to that of all unfortunate princes!" He thoroughly enjoyed the pleasantry of others; was delighted with Doctor Savage's merry observation, that he had failed to convert the pope at Rome, because he had nothing better to offer him; and very truly observed of a Jacobite, who had been often arrested, and as often discharged for lack of proof, and who, on the breaking out of the rebellion, requested that, as he of course would be again arrested, he begged it might be done at once, as he wanted to go into Devonshire,—"Pooh, pooh!" said the king; "there can be but little harm in one who writes so pleasantly." Many of his subjects, however, for no more heinous crime, were most oppressively and cruelly used.

Still, his gaiety well balanced his austerity. This is well instanced in the case of Dr. Lockier, who was a favorite with the king, and whose continued absence from court so perplexed his majesty, that he sent the Duchess of Lancaster to him, with an in-

vitation to an evening party. The doctor declined to accept it, on the ground that he was seeking preferment from the ministers, and that his chance of success would be marred, were they to suspect him of keeping company with their master. George laughingly pronounced the reverend place-hunter to be in the right; and when the latter, some weeks afterwards, kissed hands, upon being appointed the Dean of Peterborough, the king whispered to him ere he arose,—"Well, doctor, I hope you will not be afraid now to come and see me again in the evening."

Lockier's dread of being suspected to be on friendly terms with the monarch was not unreasonable; for a similar condition of things, the king's personal friend, and clerk of the closet, Dr. Younger, with whom he was wont to converse familiarly in German, was officially dismissed from his post, for no other reason than that he was too close to the willing ear of the sovereign. "Where is Dr. Younger?" asked the latter, on missing his ever-welcome presence. "Sire," said the minister, "he is dead." "I am truly sorry for it," said George; "he was a good man, and I intended to do something for him." At a subsequent period, on one of his progresses through the country, he saw the doctor officiating in his cathedral, at Salisbury. "My little dean," said the sovereign, "I am glad to see you alive; I was told you were dead. Why have you not been to court?" The dean explained, that, having received an official letter, informing him that his majesty no longer required his services, he thought it would be unbecoming to intrude himself on his majesty's presence. "I see, I see, how it is," said the king, with excusable warmth; "but, by ——, you shall be the first bishop I will make." And George would have kept his word, only that the dean died before a bishopric became vacant.

Where the ministers could lie, the menials of course could steal. A Hanoverian cook at the palace, disgusted at the rapacity of his fellows, who would not allow him to share in their plunder, went and complained to the king in person. He asserted his own honesty, but declared that such a virtue resided in no other person in the household. "Embezzlement," said he, "is rife in the kitchen, despite all I can do. When the dishes are brought from

your majesty's table, one steals a fowl, another a pig, a third a joint of meat, another a pie, and so on, till there is nothing left." George, who saw that the sorrow felt was, probably, because there was "nothing left" to steal, answered,—"I can put up with these things; and my advice to you is, to go and steal like the rest, and to remember to take enough." The fellow took his master at his word, and became as accomplished in peculiar lightness of hand as the most expert of the impudent cooks immortalized in Athenæus.

Before concluding this chapter, I will add a few notices upon the children of Sophia Dorothea,—George, and the daughter named after her mother.

The son of Sophia of Zell was the pupil of her mother-in-law, Sophia of Hanover; and his boyhood did little credit to the system, or the acknowledged good sense of his instructress.

When the Earl of Macclesfield was at Hanover, in the year 1700, bearing with him that Act of Succession which secured a throne for the husband and son of Sophia Dorothea, that son George Augustus was not yet out of his "teens." He was of that age at which a prince is considered wise enough to rule kingdoms, but is yet incapable of governing himself. At that time, he was said to "give the greatest hopes of himself that we, or any people on earth, could desire." He was not of proud stature, indeed, and Alexander was not six feet high; but Toland asserts, what is very hard to believe, that George possessed a winning countenance, and a manly aspect and deportment. In later years, he was rigid of feature, and walked as a man does who is stiff in the joints. He was, in the days of his youth, a graceful and easy speaker; that is, his phrases were well constructed, and he expressed them with facility. His complexion was fair, and his hair a light brown. Like his father, he spoke Latin fluently; and English much better than his father; but with a decided foreign accent, like William of Orange. As the utmost care was taken, according to Toland, to furnish him with such other accomplishments as are fit for a gentleman and a prince, it is a pity that he made so unprofitable a use of so desirable a provision. He was tolerably well versed in that history which his minister, Walpole, used to have read to him as a relaxation, because, as he said, it

was not true; but history to him was not philosophy teaching by example; for though, in his earlier years, panegyrists said of him, not only that his inclinations were virtuous, but that he was "wholly free from all vice," his life, subsequently, could not be so characterized, and the later practice marred the fair precedent. But let Toland limn the object of his love.

"These acquired parts," he says, "with a generous disposition and a virtuous inclination, will deservedly render him the darling of our people, and probably grace the English throne with a most knowing prince." In the popular sense of the term, the last words cannot be denied; and yet he never knew how to obtain, or cared how to merit, his people's love. "He learns English with inexpressible facility . . . . and has not only learned of his grandmother to have a real esteem for Englishmen, but he likewise entertains a high notion of the wisdom, goodness, and power of the English government, concerning which I heard him, to my great satisfaction, ask several pertinent questions, and such as betokened no mean or common observation. I was surprised to find he understood so much of our affairs already; but his great vivacity will not let him be ignorant of any thing. There is nothing more to be wished," says Toland, "but that he be proof against the temptations which accompany greatness, and defended from the poisonous infection of flatterers, who are the greatest banes of society, and commonly occasion the ruin of princes, if not in their lives, yet, at least, in their fame and reputation." It was under the temptations alluded to that George Augustus made shipwreck of his fame. His history, however, will be traced more fully hereafter. At present we will only consider the career and character of his sister.

The daughter of Sophia Dorothea, four years younger than her brother, was fifteen years old when the Act of Succession opened a throne to her father, but not to her mother. She had in her youth sweetness of manners, fairness of features, and a soft and winning voice. Her fair brown hair, as in her mother's case, heightened the grace and charms of a fair complexion; and her blue eyes were the admiration of the poets, and the inspiration even of those whom the gods had not made poetical. Her fea-

tures, taken singly, were not without defect; but the expression which pervaded them was a good substitute for purely unintellectual beauty. The Electress Sophia was, if not her governess, the superintendent of her governesses; and the training, rigid and formal, failed in the development that was most to be desired. Had her brother died childless, the succession was fixed in her person, and thus Prussia might have been to England what Hanover has been. "In minding her discourse to others," says Toland, "and by what she was pleased to say to myself, she appears to have a more than ordinary share of good sense and wit. The whole town and court commend the easiness of her manners, and the evenness of her disposition, but, above all her other qualities, they highly extol her good humor, which is the most valuable endowment of either sex, and the foundation of most other virtues. Upon the whole, considering her personal merit, and the dignity of her family, I heartily wish and hope to see her some day Queen of Sweden." This hearty wish was not to be realized. The younger Sophia Dorothea became the wife of a brute, and, as I have said, the mother of a hero.

I have already noticed how the Mark of Brandenburgh became a kingdom. The new kingdom of Prussia grew in strength as the old empire of Germany, split into numerous independent governments, increased in weakness. The second monarch of the kingdom just named was Frederick William, to whom the daughter of Sophia of Zell was married on the 28th of November, 1706; shortly after which, the newly-married couple became King and Queen of Prussia.

The bridegroom was a man of few virtues, but of many and great vices. He was not destitute of talent, and he *was* ungovernable of temper. His conduct to his wife was that of an insane savage. He deprived her of the guardianship of her children, and kept her so ill-provided for, that, at last, had it not been for a revenue of 800*l.* allowed her by her brother, George II., she would have been worse off than the lowest "burgherinn" in Berlin. Out of the taxes paid by the people of England, the Queen of Prussia was furnished with clean linen, and some of the other luxuries and necessaries of life.

Her husband was at the time immensely rich, and parsimonious unparalleledly. A hundred and twenty millions of dollars lay unfructifying in the cellars of the palace; and he had a cabinet full of gold, which he gave to his wife—to take care of. He compelled his nobles to part with their estates at a nominal price, and farmed his lands to tax-gatherers, who hugely plundered the tenants, and were as profoundly fleeced in return by their gracious king. His ambassador at the Hague cut his throat with the only razor the poor fellow possessed, driven frantic, as he was, by being reduced to poverty, for a very slight offence. He had cut down some wood for fuel in the garden attached to his official residence, and which was the property of the Prussian government, or rather King. The latter immediately mulcted him of a whole year's salary; and this, modest as the amount was, reducing him to most miserable straits, the poor envoy, doubly hurt, by the disgrace and the injury, took up his solitary razor, and, in the spirit of a Japanese noble, resorted to a suicide as a specific for his duplex wrong.

The worst feature in the character of the royal madman, however, was his terrible hatred of women. In the streets they, and indeed the men also, fled at his approach; the latter he allowed to escape with a curse; but if a woman came within reach of him, he would kick at her, punch her head with his iron fist, or smite her with his cane. It is not wonderful that the same man attempted the life of his own son: but it *is* wonderful that his subjects did not fling the monster into the turbid waters of his own river Spree.

Of the marriage of this couple, a princess, Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina, was the first child. She was born in 1707. Before she was twelve years old, she was "beaten into plaster" by father, servant, and governesses, and was, as well-beaten children generally are, cunning, bold, and mendacious. Of this child, and even at this early age, her mother was unwise enough to make a confidant; telling her of her own miseries, and employing her as a spy upon her father, especially in his drunken and unsuspicious hours. This led to scenes that would seem as farcical as an Adelphi burletta, were it not that they were not farces, but terrible realities; and in them we see a mother lying to her husband,

again lying to her child, teaching the latter to lie to her sire, who, exasperated by discovery or suspicion, pursues the criminals to every conceivable and inconceivable hiding-place, routing them out with his crutched stick, and following them with oaths and menaces, as they flee before him with prayers and screams. The queen even purchased the alliance of her menials, and these took her money, and betrayed her to the king. The menials, however, appear to have been quite as irreproachable as many of the noble courtiers,—among whom it would have been difficult to find one woman virtuous, or one man honest. Not that these lacked beyond the circle of mere courtiers. The queen herself, with all her heavy faults, was blameless in her character of wife and woman; and there were honest hearts beneath many a blue uniform in Berlin: but a hideous uncleanness of sentiment and spirit stuck like a leprosy to the souls and actions of the very best among them.

The marriage of the daughter was a consummation the most devoutly-wished for by the mother; and at one time it had been determined to marry the two grandchildren of George I., Frederick Duke of Gloucester (afterwards Prince of Wales), and his sister Amelia, to the daughter and son of King Frederick and Queen Sophia. George I. himself went to Berlin, in 1723, to further this match, but it never came to the much-desired conclusion.

In the mean time, the Prussian king drank harder than ever; and when he was sick, but not sorry, after these debauches he would sing psalms and preach sermons to his family, who, laughing at him in return, generally got well thrashed before the end of the service. In one desponding fit he resolved to abdicate, take a small house in the country, make his daughter wash the linen, employ his son in marketing, and set his consort to the spit. To inure them to their destined change of circumstances, he employed barbarities which have been duly described as disgraceful to human nature. No brute beast could more have disregarded decency in presence of its offspring. No madman ever ended a more terrific career of outrage before wife and children, by an attempt at hanging, than he did. And few wives would have fol-

lowed the example of Sophia Dorothea, and have cut down the brute, only to be the victim of his further brutalities. The lives of both wife and children were more than once very nearly sacrificed by his assassin-like cruelties. The detail of them is sickening in the extreme. His most bitter disappointment lay in the fact, that he could not find proof of treason in his children whereby to be authorized to put them both to death,—"that rascal Fritz, and that hussey Wilhelmina."

I need not here repeat that well-known story which tells of the attempt made by the young prince to escape from his father's brutalities; how it ended in the violent death of the prince's friend, and how it had well-nigh ended in the murder of the son himself.

Wilhelmina was ultimately married to the little Prince of Bareuth; and the marriage and the life which followed thereupon have much more, in their narration, the air of a pantomime than of prosaic history. The wedding was comically ceremonious; the bride's sister endeavored to seduce the bridegroom; and after the young couple had departed with their suite, they were greeted on their passage by bodies of "notables," who were huge living caricatures, with the addition of being very dirty. They did not reach their palace before the ponderous carriage which bore them had broken down and rolled the illustrious travellers into the mud.

It would lead me too much away from my subject to describe the princess's father-in-law,—the Margrave who had read but two books, had a purse as ill-furnished as his mind, and yet never walked to his cold meat without a flourish from a couple of cracked trumpets to announce that event to the world, and bid lesser potentates sit down.

The same pantomimic aspect rested on all the other personages, and on all the furniture, appointments, and incidents of the court. Every thing was of an exaggerated character, even the vices; and when the court drank, stupendous inebriety followed, with accidents to match—which even pantomimes forbear to bring before the public. We hear, too, of princesses with noses like beet-root, and maids of honor so fat that they cannot sit down, and never stoop to kiss a hand without rolling over on the carpet.

But to return to the daughter of our Sophia of Zell. The Queen of Prussia had negotiated a marriage between her son Frederick (not *yet* the "Great") and a princess of Brunswick. She openly spoke of her intended daughter-in-law with ridicule and disgust, and was not more reserved even in the poor lady's presence. The queen survived her brutal husband, whose last act was to bid her get up and see him die. She obeyed, and the king duly preformed the feat which he had called her to witness. Her after-life was more happy, and the virtues she exhibited during its course tend to prove that the tyranny, cruelty, and filthy insults of which she had been made the victim by her husband, alone rendered the wretched woman not merely a slave, but, as slaves are wont to be, careless in the observation of strict proprieties. As the revered mother of the Great Frederick, she lived on to the year 1757, when she died at the allotted age of man, threescore years and ten. The present King of Prussia is a lineal descendant of Sophia Dorothea of Zell through this daughter, the second queen that wore the Prussian crown. He presides in Berlin, the mere Viceroy of the Czar.

But it is time to turn from this record of incidents of the times of Sophia and George Louis, to that of circumstances in the lives of their successors. Of the former pair it may be said, that Sophia atoned for some possible indiscretion by a long captivity, the severity of which tended only to the purifying and perfecting of her character. Her husband has been described truly in a few words by Mr. Macaulay, when speaking of Pitt's lines on the monarch's death: "The Muses are earnestly entreated to weep over the urn of Cæsar: for Cæsar, says the poet, loved the Muses; Cæsar, who could not read a line of Pope, and who loved nothing but punch and fat women."

CAROLINE WILHELMINA DOROTHEA,

WIFE OF GEORGE II.

Da seufzt sie, da presst sie das Herz—es war
Ja Lieb und Glück nur geträumet.
GEIBEL.

CHAPTER I.

BEFORE THE ACCESSION.

CAROLINE WILHELMINA DOROTHEA was the daughter of John Frederick, Marquis of Brandenburg Anspach, and of Eleanor Erdmuth Louisa, his second wife, daughter of John George, Duke of Saxe Eisenach. She was born in 1683, and married the Electoral Prince of Hanover, afterwards George II., in the year 1705. Her mother having re-married, after her father's death, when Caroline was very young, the latter left the Court of her step-father, George IV., Elector of Saxony, for that of her guardian, Frederick, Elector of Brandenburg, afterwards King of Prussia. The Electress of Brandenburg was the daughter of Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and sister of George I. The young Caroline was considered fortunate in being placed under the care of a lady, who, it was said at the time, and perhaps with some reason, would assuredly give her a "tincture of her own politeness."

Notice has already been taken of the suitors who early offered themselves for the hand of the youthful princess; and for what excellent reason she selected the son of Sophia Dorothea. It was said, when she came to share the throne of England with her

husband, that Heaven had especially reserved her in order to make Great Britain happy. Her early married life was one of some gaiety, if not of felicity; and Baron Pilnitz says in his memoir, that when the electoral family of Hanover was called to the throne of this country, she showed more cool carelessness for the additional grandeur, than any of the family, whose *outward* indifference was a matter of admiration, in the old sense of that word, to all who beheld it. The Princess Caroline, according to the baron, particularly demonstrated that she was thoroughly satisfied in her mind that she could be happy without a crown, and that "both her father-in-law and her husband were already kings in her eyes, because they highly deserved that title." Of her conduct during the period she was Princess of Wales, the same writer says that she favored neither political party, and was equally esteemed by each. This, however, is somewhat beside the truth.

The poets were as much concerned with the Princess of Wales as the politicians. Some abused, and some adored her. Addison, in 1714, assured her that the Muse waited on her person, and that she herself was

> —born to strengthen and to grace our isle.

The same writer could not contemplate the daughter of Caroline, but that his prophetic eye professed to—

> Already see the illustrious youths complain,
> And future monarchs doom'd to sigh in vain.

Frederick (Duke of Gloucester), the elder and less loved son of Caroline, was not yet in England, but her favorite boy William was at her side; and of him Addison said, that he had "the mother's sweetness and the father's fire." The poet went on, less to prophesy than to speculate with a "perhaps," on the future destiny of William of Cumberland, and it was well he put in the saving word, for nothing could be less like fact than the "fortune" alluded to in the following lines:—

> For thee, perhaps, even now of kingly race,
> Some dawning beauty blooms in every grace.

Some Caroline, to Heaven's dictates true,
Who, while the sceptred rivals vainly sue,
Thy inborn worth with conscious eye shall see,
And slight th' imperial diadem for thee.

Of the princess herself, he says more truly, that she—

with graceful ease
And native majesty is form'd to please.

And he adds, that the stage, growing refined, will draw its finished heroines from her, who was herself known to be "skill'd in the labors of the deathless muse."

In short, Parnassus was made to echo with eulogies or epigrams upon the subject of this royal lady. Of the quarrel between George I. and his son mention has been already made. For years together, the king never addressed a word to the Prince of Wales, but the princess would compel him, as Count Broglio, the French ambassador, writes, to answer the remarks which she addressed to him when she encountered him "in public." But even then, says the count, "he only speaks to her on these occasions for the sake of decorum." *She-devil*, was the application commonly employed by the amiable king to designate his high-spirited daughter-in-law.

The Prince and Princess of Wales, on withdrawing from St. James's, established their court in "Leicester Fields." Walpole draws a pleasant picture of this Court. It must have been a far livelier locality than that of the king, whose ministers were the older Whig politicians. "The most promising," says Walpole, "of the young lords and gentlemen of that party, and the prettiest and liveliest of the young ladies, formed the new court of the Prince and Princess of Wales. The apartment of the bedchamber-women in waiting became the fashionable evening rendezvous of the most distinguished wits and beauties: Lord Chesterfield, the Lord Stanhope, Lord Scarborough, Carr (Lord Hervey), elder brother of the more known John Lord Hervey, and reckoned to have superior parts; General (at that time only Colonel) Charles Churchill, and others, not necessary to mention, were constant attendants; Miss Lepell, afterwards Lady Hervey, my mother, Lady Walpole, Mrs. Selwyn, mother of the famous George, and

herself of much vivacity, and pretty; Mrs. Howard, and, above all, for universal admiration, Miss Bellenden, one of the maids of honor. Her face and person were charming; lively she was almost to *étourderie;* and so agreeable she was, that I never heard her mentioned afterwards by one of her contemporaries who did not prefer her as the most perfect creature they ever knew."

To this pleasant party in this pleasant resort, the Prince of Wales often came,—his chief attraction being, not the wit or worth of the party, but the mere beauty of one of the party forming it. This was Miss Bellenden, who, on the other hand, saw nothing in the fair-haired and little prince that could attract her admiration. The prince was never famous for much delicacy of either expression or sentiment, but he could exhibit a species of wit in its way. He had probably been contemplating the engraving of the visit of Jupiter to the nymph Danae in a shower of gold, when he took to pouring the guineas from his purse, in Miss Bellenden's presence. He seemed to her, if we may judge by the comment she made upon his conduct, much more like a villanous little bashaw offering to purchase a Circassian slave,—and on one occasion, as he went on counting the glittering coin, she exclaimed, "Sir, I cannot bear it; if you count your money any more I will go out of the room." She did even better, by marrying the man of her heart, Colonel John Campbell,—a step at which the prince, when it came to his knowledge, affected to be extremely indignant;—and never forgave her for an offence, which indeed was no offence, and required no forgiveness. The Prince, like that young Duke of Orleans who thought he would suffer in reputation if he had not a "favorite" in his train, let his regard stop at Mrs. Howard, another of his wife's bedchamber women, who was but too happy to receive such regard, and to return it with all required attachment and service.

The Princess of Wales, during the reign of her father-in-law, maintained a brilliant court, and presided over a gay round of pleasures. In this career she gained that which she sought after,—popularity. What she did from policy, her husband the prince did from taste; and the encouragement and promotion of pleasure were followed by the one as a means to an end, by the other for

the sake of the pleasure itself. Every morning there was a drawing-room at the princess's, and twice a week there was the same splendid reunion in her apartments, at night. This gave the fashion to a very wide circle; crowded assemblies, balls, masquerades, and ridottos became the "rage,"—and from the fatigues incident thereto, the votaries of fashion found relaxation in plays and operas.

Quiet people were struck by the change which had come over court circles since the days of "Queen Anne, who had always been decent, chaste, and formal." The change indeed was great, but diverse of aspect. Thus the court of pleasure at which Caroline reigned supreme, was a court where decency was respected;—respected, at least, as much as it well could be, at a time when there was no superabundance of respect for decency in any quarter. Still, there was not the intolerable grossness in the house of the prince such as there was in the very presence of his sire. Lord Chesterfield said of that sire that "he had nothing bad in him as a man," and yet he makes record of him that he had no respect for woman,—but some liking, it may be added, for those who had little principle and much fat. "He brought over with him," says Chesterfield, "two considerable samples of his bad taste and good stomach,—the Duchess of Kendal and the Countess of Darlington; leaving at Hanover, because she happened to be a Papist, the Countess von Platen, whose weight and circumference was little inferior to theirs. These standards of his majesty's tastes made all those ladies who aspired to his favor, and who were near the statutable size, strain and swell themselves, like the frogs in the fable, to rival the bulk and dignity of the ox. Some succeeded, and others burst." If the house of the son was not the abode of all the virtues, it at least was not the stye wherein wallowed his sire. Upon the change of fashion, Chesterfield writes to Bubb Doddington, in 1716, the year when Caroline began to be looked up to as the arbitress of fashion:—"As for the gay part of the town, you would find it much more flourishing than when you left it. Balls, assemblies, and masquerades, have taken the place of dull, formal, visiting days, and the women are much more agreeable trifles than they were designed. Puns are extremely in vogue, and the license

very great. The variation of three or four letters in a word breaks no squares, insomuch that an indifferent punster may make a very good figure in the best companies." The gaiety at the town residence of the prince and princess did not, however, accompany them to Richmond Lodge. There Caroline enjoyed the quiet beauties of her pretty retreat, which was, however, shared with her husband's favorite, "Mrs. Howard."

"Leicester Fields" was, nevertheless, not always such a bower of bliss as Walpole has described it, from hearsay. If the prince and ladies were on very pleasant terms, the princess and the ladies were sometimes at loggerheads, with as little regard for *bienséance*, as if they had been very vulgar people; indeed, they often were exceedingly vulgar people themselves.

It was with Lord Chesterfield that Caroline Wilhemina Dorothea was most frequently at very ungraceful issue. Lord Chesterfield was one of the prince's court, and he was possessed of an uncontrollable inclination to turn the princess into ridicule. Of course, she was made acquainted with this propensity of the refined Chesterfield by some amiable friend, who had the regard which friends, with less judgment than what they call amiability, generally have for one's failings.

Caroline, perhaps half afraid of the peer, whom she held to be a more annoying joker than a genuine wit, took a middle course by way of correcting Chesterfield. It was not the course which a woman of dignity and refinement would have adopted; but it must be remembered that, at the period in question, the princess was anxious to keep as many friends around her husband as she could muster. She consequently told Lord Chesterfield half in jest and half in earnest, that he had better not provoke her, for though he had a wittier he had not so bitter a tongue as she had, and any outlay of his wit, at her cost, she was determined to pay, in her way, with an exorbitant addition of interest upon the debt he made her incur.

The noble lord had, among the other qualifications of the fine gentlemen of the period, an alacrity in lying. He would gravely assure the princess, that her royal highness was in error; that he could never presume to mimic her; and thereupon he would only

watch for a turn of her head, to find an opportunity for repeating the offence which he had protested could not possibly be laid to his charge.

Caroline was correct in asserting that she had a bitter tongue. It was under control indeed; but when she gave it unrestricted freedom, its eloquence was not well savored. Indeed her mind was far less refined than has been generally imagined. There are many circumstances that might be cited in proof of this assertion; but, perhaps, none is more satisfactory, or conclusive rather, than the fact, that she was the correspondent of the Duchess of Orleans, whose gross epistles can be patiently read only by grossly inclined persons; but who, nevertheless, tell so much that is really worth knowing, that students of history read, blush, and are delighted. Of this correspondence we shall speak in a subsequent chapter.

The Prince of Wales, dissatisfied with his residences, entered into negotiations for the purchase of Buckingham House. That mansion, of which more will be said, when we come to speak of its royal mistress, Queen Charlotte, was then occupied by the dowager Duchess of Buckingham, she whose mother was Catharine Sedley, and whose father was James II. She was the mad duchess, who always went into mourning, and shut up Buckingham House, on the anniversary of the death of her grandfather, Charles I. The duchess thus writes of the negotiation, in a letter to Mrs. Howard:—

"If their royal highnesses will have everything stand as it is, furniture and pictures, I will have 3000*l.* *per annum*. Both run hazard of being spoiled; and the last, to be sure, will be all to be new bought, whenever my son is of age. The quantity the rooms take cannot be well furnished under 10,000*l.* But if their highnesses will permit all the pictures to be removed, and buy the furniture as it will be valued by different people, the house shall go at 2000*l.* If the prince or princess prefer much the buying outright, under 60,000*l.* it will not be parted with as it now stands; and all his majesty's revenue cannot purchase a place so fit for them, nor for so less a sum. The princess asked me at the drawing-room if I would not sell my fine house. I answered her, smiling, that I was under no necessity to part with it; yet, when what I thought was the value of it should be offered, perhaps my

prudence might overcome my inclination." Whether the sum was thought too much by the would-be purchasers, or whether the capricious duchess obeyed inclination rather than prudence, is not known; but the negotiation went no further.

It may be that the princess, who particularly affected to be desirous of furthering the interests of English commerce, had some inclination to possess this place as occupying a portion of the locality on which James I. planted his famous mulberry garden, at a time when he was anxious to introduce the mulberry into general cultivation, for the sake of encouraging the manufacture of English silks. At all events, at the period when Caroline expressed some inclination to possess a residence, which did not fall into the hands of royalty until it became the property of Queen Charlotte, there was a mulberry garden at Chelsea, the owner of which was a Mrs. Gale. In these gardens, some very rich and beautiful satin was made, from English silk-worms, for the Princess of Wales, who took an extraordinary interest in the success of "the native worm." The experiments, however, patronized as they were by Caroline, did not promise a realization of sufficient profit to warrant their being pursued any further.

The town residence of the prince and princess lacked, of course, the real charms, the quieter pleasures, of the lodge at Richmond. The estate on which the latter was built formed part of the forfeited property of the Jacobite Duke of Ormond.

The prince and princess kept a court at Richmond, which must have been one of the most pleasant resorts at which royalty has ever presided over fashion, wit, and talent. At this court, the young (John) Lord Hervey was a frequent visitor, at a time, when his mother, Lady Bristol, was in waiting on the princess, and his brother, Lord Carr Hervey, held the post of groom of the bedchamber of the prince. Of the personages at this "young court," the right honorable John Wilson Croker thus speaks:—

"At this period, Pope, and his literary friends, were in great favor at this 'young court,' of which, in addition to the handsome and clever princess herself, Mrs. Howard, Mrs. Selwyn, Miss Howe, Miss Bellenden, and Miss Lepell, with lords Chesterfield, Bathurst, Scarborough, and Hervey, were the chief ornaments.

Above all, for beauty and wit, were Miss Bellenden, and Miss Lepell, who seem to have treated Pope, and been in return treated by him, with a familiarity that appears strange in our more decorous days. These young ladies probably considered him as no more than what Aaron Hill described him,—

> Tuneful Alexis, on the Thames' fair side,
> The ladies' *plaything* and the Muse's pride.

Mr. Croker notices, that Miss Lepell was called *Mrs.*, according to the fashion of the time. It was the custom so to designate every single lady who was old enough to be married.

Upon Richmond Lodge, Swift showered some of his most pungent verses. He was there more than once, when it was the scene of the "young court." Of these occasions he sang, after the princess had become queen, to the following tune:—

> Here wont the Dean, when he 's to seek,
> To sponge a breakfast once a week,
> To cry the bread was stale, and mutter
> Complaints against the royal butter.
> But now I fear it will be said,
> No butter sticks upon his bread.
> We soon shall find him full of spleen,
> For want of tattling to the queen;
> Stunning her royal ears with talking;
> His rev'rence and her highness walking.
> Whilst saucy Charlotte,* like a stroller,
> Sits mounted on the garden roller.
> A goodly sight to see her ride,
> With ancient Mirmont at her side.
> In velvet cap his head is warm,
> His hat, for shame, beneath his arm.

During a large portion of the married life of George Augustus and Caroline, each was supposed to be under the influence of a woman, whose real influence was, however, overrated, and whose importance, if great, was solely so because of the undue value attached to her imaginary influence. Both those persons were of the "young court," at Leicester House, and Richmond Lodge.

* De Roncy.

The women in question were Mrs. Howard, the Prince's "favorite," and Mrs. Clayton, bedchamber woman, like Mrs. Howard, to Caroline. The first lady was a daughter of a Knight of the Bath, Sir Henry Hobart. Early in life, she married Mr. Howard, "the younger brother of more than one Earl of Suffolk, to which title he at last succeeded himself, and left a son by her, who was the last earl of that branch." The young couple were but slenderly dowered; the lady had little, and her husband less. The Court of Queen Anne did not hold out to them any promise of improving their fortune, and accordingly they looked around for a locality where they might not only discern the promise, but hope for its realization. Their views rested upon Hanover and "the rising sun" there, and thither, accordingly, they took their way, and there they found a welcome at the hands of the old Electress Sophia, with scanty civility at those of her grandson, the electoral prince.

At this time, the fortunes of the young adventurers were so low, and their aspirations so high, that they were unable to give a dinner to the Hanoverian minister, till Mrs. Howard found the means, by cutting off a very beautiful head of hair, and selling it. If she did this in order that she might not incur a debt, she deserves some degree of praise, for a habit of prompt payment was not a fashion of the time. The sacrifice probably sufficed; for it was the era of full-bottomed wigs, which cost twenty or thirty guineas, and Mrs. Howard's hair, to be applied to the purpose named, may have brought her a dozen pounds, with which, a very recherché dinner might have been given, at the period, to even the most gastronomic of Hanoverian ministers, and half-a-dozen secretaries of legation, to boot.

The fortune sought for was seized, although it came but in a questionable shape. After the lapse of some little time, the lady had made sufficient impression on the hitherto cold Prince George Augustus to induce him, on the accession of his father to the crown of England, to appoint her one of the bedchamber women to his wife, Caroline, Princess of Wales.

When Mrs. Howard had won what was called the "regard" of the prince, she separated from her husband. *He*, it is true, had little regard *for*, and merited no regard *from*, his wife. But he

was resolved that she should attain not even a bad eminence, unless he profited by it. He was a wretched, heartless, drunken, gambling profligate, too coarse, even, for the coarse fine gentlemen of the day. When he found himself deserted by his wife, therefore, and discovered that she had established her residence in the household of the prince, he went down to the palace, raised an uproar in the court-yard, before the guards and other persons present, and made vociferous demands for the restoration to him of a wife whom he really did not want. He was thrust out of the quadrangle without much ceremony, but he was not to be silenced. He even appears to have interested the Archbishop of Canterbury in the matter. The prelate affected to look upon the princess as the protectress of her bedchamber-woman, and the cause of the latter living separate from her husband, to whom he recommended, by letter, that she should be restored. Walpole says, further, that the archbishop delivered an epistle from Mr. Howard himself, addressed through the Princess Caroline to his wife, and that the princess "had the malicious pleasure of delivering the letter to her rival."

Mrs. Howard continued to reside under the roof of this strangely-assorted household; there was no scandal excited thereby at the period, and she was safe from conjugal importunity, whether at St. James's Palace or Leicester House. "The case was altered," says Walpole, "when, on the arrival of summer, their royal highnesses were to remove to Richmond. Being only woman of the bedchamber, etiquette did not allow Mrs. Howard the entrée of the coach, with the princess. She apprehended that Mr. Howard might seize her upon the road. To baffle such an attempt, her friends, John, Duke of Argyle, and his brother, the Earl of Islay, called for her in the coach of one of them by eight o'clock in the morning of the day by noon of which the prince and princess were to remove, and lodged her safely in their house at Richmond." It would appear, that after this period, the servant of Caroline and the favorite of George Augustus ceased to be molested by her husband; and, although there be no proof of that gentleman having been "bought off," he was of such character, tastes, and principles, that he cannot be thought to have been of too nice an honor

to allow of his agreeing to terms of peace for pecuniary "consideration."

George thought his show of regard for Mrs. Howard would stand for proof that he was not "led" by his wife. The regard wore an outwardly Platonic aspect, and daily, at the same hour, the royal admirer resorted to the apartment of the lady, where an hour or two was spent in "small talk," and conversation of a generally uninteresting character.

It is very illustrative of the peculiar character of George Augustus, that his periodical visits every evening at nine, were regulated with such dull punctuality, "that he frequently walked about his chamber for ten minutes, with his watch in his hand, if the stated minute was not arrived."

Walpole also notices the more positive vexations Mrs. Howard received when Caroline became queen, whose head she used to dress, until she acquired the title of Countess of Suffolk. The queen, it is said, delighted in subjecting her to such servile offices, though always apologizing to *her good Howard.* "Often," says Walpole, "her majesty had more complete triumph. It happened more than once, that the king, coming into the room while the queen was dressing, has snatched off the handkerchief, and, turning rudely to Mrs. Howard, has cried, 'Because you have an ugly neck yourself, you hide the queen's.'"

One other instance may be cited here of Caroline's dislike of her good Howard. "The queen had an obscure window at St. James's that looked into a dark passage, lighted only by a single lamp at night, that looked upon Mrs. Howard's apartment. Lord Chesterfield, one Twelfth Night at court, had won so large a sum of money, that he thought it not prudent to carry it home in the dark, and deposited it with the mistress. Thence the queen inferred great intimacy, and thenceforwards Lord Chesterfield could obtain no favor from court; and, finding himself desperate, went into opposition." But this is anticipating events. Let us speak of the other bedchamber-woman of the Princess of Wales, and subsequently of Queen Caroline, who was also a woman of considerable note in the quiet and princely circle at Leicester House, and the more brilliant réunions at St. James's and Kensington. She

was a woman of fairer reputation, of greater ability, and of worse temper than Mrs. Howard. Her maiden name was Dyves, her condition was of a humble character, but her marriage with Sir Robert Clayton, a clerk in the Treasury, gave her importance and position, and opportunity to improve both. Her husband, in addition to his Treasury clerkship, was one of the managers of the Marlborough estates in the duke's absence, and this brought his wife to the knowledge and patronage of the duchess. The only favor ever asked by the latter of the House of Hanover, was a post for her friend Mrs. Clayton, who soon afterwards was appointed one of the bedchamber-women of Caroline Princess of Wales.

Mrs. Clayton has been as diversely painted by Lord Hervey and Horace Walpole, as Chesterfield himself. It is not to be disputed, however, that she was a woman of many accomplishments, of not so many as her flatterers ascribed to her, but of more than were conceded to her by her enemies. The same may be said of her alleged virtues. Walpole describes her as a corrupt, pompous simpleton, and Lord Hervey as a woman of great intelligence, and rather ill-regulated temper, the latter preventing her from concealing her thoughts, let them be what they might. The noble lord intimates, rather than asserts, that she was more resigned than desirous to live at court, for the dirty company of which she was too good, but whom she had the honesty to hate but not the hypocrisy to tell them they were good. Hervey adds that she did good, for the mere luxury which the exercise of the virtue had in itself. Others describe her as corrupt as the meanest courtier that ever lived by bribes. She would take jewels with both hands, and wear them without shame, though they were the fees of offices performed to serve others and enrich herself. The Duchess of Marlborough was ashamed of her protégée in this respect, if there be truth in the story of her grace being indignant at seeing Mrs. Clayton wearing gems which she knew were the price of services rendered by her. Lady Wortley Montague apologizes for her by the smart remark, that people would not know where wine was sold, if the vendor did not hang out a bush.

Of another fact there is no dispute,—the intense hatred with which Mrs. Howard and Mrs. Clayton regarded each other. The

former was calm, cool, cutting, and contemptuous—but never unlady-like, always self-possessed and severe. The latter was hot, eager, and for ever rendering her position untenable for want of temper, and therefore lack of argument to maintain it. Mrs. Clayton, doubtless, possessed more influence with the queen than her opponent with the king, but that influence has been vastly overrated. Caroline only allowed it in small matters, and exercised in small ways. Mrs. Clayton was, in some respects, only her authorized representative, or the medium between her and the objects whom she delighted to relieve or to honor. The lady had some influence in bringing about introductions, in directing the queen's notice to works of merit, or to petitions for relief; but on subjects of much higher importance Caroline would not submit to influence from the same quarter. On serious questions she had a better judgment of her own than she could be supplied with by the women of the bedchamber. The great power held by Mrs. Clayton was, that with her rested to decide whether the prayer of a petitioner should or should not reach the eye of Caroline. No wonder, then, that she was flattered, and that her good offices were asked for with showers of praise and compliment to herself, by favor-seekers of every conceivable class. Peers of every degree, and their wives, bishops and poor curates, philosophers well-to-do, and authors in shreds and patches; sages and sciolists; inventors, speculators, and a mob of "beggars" that cannot be classed, sought to approach Caroline through Mrs. Clayton's office, and humbly waited Mrs. Clayton's leisure, while they profusely flattered her, in order to tempt her to be active in their behalf.

Mrs. Clayton, despite her more fiery temper, is said to have been a "nicer" woman than Mrs. Howard. It must be remembered, however, that the niceness of the nice people of this period was very like that of Mrs. Mincemode, in Odingsell's comedy of "The Capricious Lovers." The latter is something akin to the delicate lady in the "Precieuses Ridicules," the very sight of a gentleman makes her grow sick, so indelicate is the spectacle; and she refines upon the significancy of phrases, till she resolves common conversation into rank offence against modesty.

Caroline not only ruled her husband without his being aware

of it, but could laugh at him heartily, without hurting his feelings by allowing him to be conscious of it. Hereafter mention may be made of the sensitiveness of the court to satire; but before the death of George I., it seems to have been enjoyed, at least by Caroline, Princess of Wales,—more than it was subsequently by the same illustrious lady, when Queen of England. Dr. Arbuthnot, at the period alluded to, had occasion to write to Swift. The Doctor had been publishing, by subscription, his "Tables of Ancient Coins," and was gaining very few modern specimens by his work. The dean, on the other hand, was then reaping a harvest of profit and popularity by his "Gulliver's Travels,"—that book of which the puzzled Bishop of Ferns said, on coming to the last page, that, all things considered, he did not believe a word of it!

Arbuthnot, writing to Swift on the subject of the two works, says (8 Nov. 1726) that his book had been out about a month, but that he had not yet got his subscribers' names. "I will make over," he says, "all my profits to you, for the property of 'Gulliver's Travels,' which, I believe, will have as great a run as John Bunyan. Gulliver is a happy man, that, at his age, can write such a book." Arbuthnot subsequently relates, that when he last saw the Princess of Wales, "she was reading Gulliver, and was just come to the passage of the hobbling prince, which she laughed at." The laugh was at the cost of her husband, whom Swift represented in the satire as walking with one high and low heel, in allusion to the prince's supposed vacillation between the Whigs and Tories.

The princess, however, had more regard, at all times, for sages than she had for satirists. It was at the request of Caroline that Newton drew up an abstract of a treatise on Ancient Chronology, which was first published in France, and subsequently in England. Her regard for Halley dates from an earlier period than Newton's death, or Caroline's accession. She had in 1721 pressed Halley to become the tutor of her favorite son, the Duke of Cumberland; but the great perfector of the theory of the moon's motion was then too busy with his syzigies to be troubled with teaching the humanities to little princes. It was for the same reason that Halley resigned his post of secretary to the Royal Society.

This question of the education of the children of the Prince and

Princess of Wales was one which was much discussed, and not without bitterness, by the disputants on both sides. In the same year that the Princess of Wales desired to secure Halley as the instructor of William of Cumberland (1721), George I. made an earl of that Thomas Parker, who, from an attorney's office, had steadily risen through the various grades of the law, had been entrusted with high commissions, and finally became lord chancellor. George I. on his accession made him Baron of Macclesfield, and in 1721 raised him to the rank of earl. He paid for the honor by supporting the king against the Prince and Princess of Wales. The latter claimed an exclusive right of direction in the education of their children. Lord Macclesfield declared that, by law, they had no right at all to control the education of their offspring. Neither prince nor princess ever forgave him for this. They waited for the hour of repaying it; and the time soon came. In two or three years, to Macclesfield might almost have been applied the words of Pope:—

> If parts allure thee, think how Bacon shined,
> The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind.

The first "Brunswick chancellor" became notorious for his malpractices—selling places, and trafficking with the funds of the suitors. His enemies resolved to impeach him, and this resolution originated at Leicester House, and was carried out with such effect that the chancellor was condemned to pay a fine of 30,000*l.* George I. knowing that the son whom he hated was the cause of so grave, but just, a consequence, promised to repay to the ex-chancellor the amount of the fine which Lord Macclesfield had himself paid, a few days after the sentence, by the mortgage of a valuable estate. The king, however, was rather slow in acquitting himself of his promise. He forwarded one instalment of 1000*l.*, but he paid no more, death supervening and preventing the farther performance of a promise only made to annoy his son and his son's wife.

In one respect Lord Macclesfield and the Princess of Wales resembled each other,—in entertaining a curious feeling of superstition. It will be seen, hereafter, how certain Caroline felt that she should die on a Wednesday, and for what reasons. So, like

her, but with more accuracy, the fallen Macclesfield pointed out the day for his decease. In his disgrace he had devoted himself to science and religion. He was, however, distracted by a malady which was aggravated by grief, if not remorse. Dr. Pearce, his constant friend, called on him one day, and found him very ill. Lord Macclesfield said: "My mother died of the same disorder on the eighth day, and so shall I." On the eighth day this prophecy was fulfilled; and the Leicester House party were fully avenged.

The feelings of both prince and princess were forever in excess. Thus both appear to have entertained a strong sentiment of aversion against their eldest child, Frederick. Caroline did not bring him with her to this country when she herself first came over to take up her residence here. Frederick was born at Hanover, on the 20th January, 1707. He was early instructed in the English language; but he disliked study of every description, and made but little progress in this particular branch. As a child he was remarkable for his spitefulness and cunning. He was yet a youth when he drank like any German baron of old, played as deeply as he drank, and entered heart and soul into other vices, which not only corrupted both, but his body also. His tutor was scandalized by his conduct, and complained of it grievously. Caroline was, at that time, given to find excuses for a conduct with which she did not care to be so far troubled as to censure it; and she remarked, that the escapades complained of were mere page's tricks. "Would to Heaven, they were no more!" exclaimed the worthy governor; "but in truth they are tricks of grooms and scoundrels." The prince spared his friends as little as his foes, and his heart was as vicious as his head was weak.

Caroline had little affection for this child, whom she would have willingly defrauded of his birth-right. At one time she appears to have been inclined to secure the electorate of Hanover for William, and to allow Frederick to succeed to the English throne. At another time, she was as desirous, it is believed, of advancing William to the crown of England, and making over the electorate to Frederick. How far these intrigues were carried on is hardly known, but that they existed is matter of notoriety. The law presented a barrier which could not, however, be broken down; but,

nevertheless, Lord Chesterfield, in his character of the princess, intimated that she was busy with this project throughout her life.

Frederick was not permitted to come to England during any period of the time that his parents were Prince and Princess of Wales. An English title or two may be said to have been flung to him across the water. Thus, in 1717, he was created Duke of Gloucester, and the Garter was sent to him the following year. In 1726 he became Duke of Edinburgh. He never occupied a place in the hearts of either his father or mother.

It is but fair to the character of the Princess of Wales, to say that, severe as was the feeling entertained by herself against Lord Macclesfield,—a feeling shared in by her consort, neither of them ever after entertained any ill feeling against Philip Yorke, subsequently Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, who defended his friend Lord Macclesfied, with great fearlessness, at the period of his celebrated trial. Only once, in after life, did George II. visit Lord Hardwicke with a severe rebuff. The learned lord was avaricious, discouraging to those who sought to rise in their profession, and caring only for the advancement of his own relations. He was once seeking for a place for a distant relation, when the husband of Caroline exclaimed, "You are always asking favors, and I observe that it is invariably in behalf of some one of your family or kinsmen." We shall hereafter find Caroline making allusions to "Judge Gripus," as a character in a play, but it was a name given to Lord Hardwicke, on account of his "meanness." This feeling was shared by his wife. The expensively embroidered velvet purse in which the great seal is carried was renewed every year during Lord Hardwicke's time. Each year, Lady Hardwicke ordered that the velvet should be of the length of one of her state rooms at Wimpole. In course of time, the prudent lady obtained enough to tapestry the room with the legal velvet, and to make curtains and hangings for a state bed, which stood in the apartment. Well might Pope have said of these:—

> Is yellow dirt the passion of thy life?
> Look but on Gripus and on Gripus' wife.

But this is again anticipating the events of history. Let us go

back to 1721, when Caroline and her husband exercised a courage which caused great admiration in the saloons of Leicester House, and a doubtful sort of applause throughout the country. Lady Mary Wortley Montague had just reported the successful results of inoculation for the small-pox, which she had witnessed at Constantinople. Dr. Mead was ordered by the prince to inoculate six criminals who had been condemned to death, but whose lives were spared for this experiment. It succeeded admirably, and the patients were more satisfied by the result of the experiment than any one besides. In the year following, Caroline allowed Dr. Mead to inoculate her two daughters, and the doctor ultimately became physician-in-ordinary to her husband.

The medical appointments made by Caroline and her husband certainly had a political motive. Thus, the Princess of Wales persuaded her husband to name Friend his physician-in-ordinary, just after the latter had been liberated from the Tower, where he had suffered incarceration for daring to defend Atterbury in the House of Commons, when the bishop was accused of being guilty of treason. Caroline always had a high esteem for Friend, independently of his political opinions, and one of her first acts, on ceasing to be Princess of Wales, was to make Friend physician to the queen.

It is said by Swift that the Princess of Wales sent for him to Leicester Fields, no less than nine times, before he would obey the reiterated summons. When he *did* appear before Caroline, he roughly remarked that he understood she liked to see odd persons; that she had lately inspected a wild boy from Germany, and that now she had the opportunity of seeing a wild parson from Ireland. Swift declares that the court in Leicester Fields was very anxious to settle him in England, but it may be doubted whether the anxiety was very sincere. Swift's declaration that he had no anxiety to be patronized by the Princess of Wales, was probably as little sincere. The patronage sometimes exercised there was mercilessly sneered at by Swift. Thus Caroline had expressed a desire to do honor to Gay, but when the post offered was only that of a gentleman usher to the little Princess Caroline, Swift was bitterly satirical on the Princess of Wales supposing

that the poet Gay would be willing to act as a sort of male nurse to a little girl of two years of age.

The Prince of Wales was occasionally as cavalierly treated by the ladies as the princess by the men. One of the maids of honor of Caroline, the well-known Miss Bellenden, would boldly stand before him with her arms folded, and when asked why she did so, would toss her pretty head, and laughingly exclaim that she did so, not because she was cold, but that she chose to stand with her arms folded. When her own niece became maid of honor to Queen Caroline, and audacious Miss Bellenden was a grave married lady, she instructively warned her young relative not to be so imprudent a maid of honor as her aunt had been before her.

But strange things were done by princes and princesses in those days, as well as by those who waited on them. For instance, in 1725, it is recorded by Miss Dyves, maid of honor to the Princess Amelia, daughter of the Princess of Wales, that "the prince, and everybody but myself, went last Friday to Bartholomew Fair. It was a fine day, so *he* went by water; and I, being afraid, did not go; after the fair, they supped at the King's Arms, and came home about four o'clock in the morning." An heir-apparent, and part of his family and consort, going by water from Richmond to "Bartlemy Fair," supping at a tavern, staying out all night, and returning home not long before honest men breakfasted,—was not calculated to make royalty respectable.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST YEARS OF A REIGN.

Sir Robert Walpole was sojourning at Chelsea, and thinking of nothing less than of the demise of a king, when news was brought him, by a messenger from Lord Townshend, at three o'clock in the afternoon of June 14, 1727, that his late most sacred majesty was then lying dead in the Westphalian palace of his serene highness the Bishop of Osnaburgh. Sir Robert immediately hurried to Richmond, in order to be the first to do homage

to the new sovereigns, George and Caroline. George accepted the homage with much complacency, and on being asked by Sir Robert as to the person whom the king would select to draw up the usual address to the privy council, George II. mentioned the speaker of the House of Commons, Sir Spenser Compton.

This was a civil way of telling Sir Robert that his services as prime minister were no longer required. He was not pleased at being supplanted, but neither was he wrathfully little-minded against his successor,—a successor so incompetent for his task that he was obliged to have recourse to Sir Robert to assist him in drawing up the address above alluded to. Sir Robert rendered the assistance with much heartiness, but was not the less determined, if possible, to retain his office, in spite of the personal dislike of the king, and of that of the queen, whom he had offended, when she was Princess of Wales, by speaking of her as "that fat beast, the prince's wife." Sir Robert could easily make poor Sir Spenser communicative with regard to his future intentions. The latter was a stiff, gossiping, soft-hearted creature, and might very well have taken for his motto the words of Parmeno in the play of Terence:—"Plenus rimarum sum." He intimated that on first meeting parliament he should propose an allowance of 60,000*l.* per annum to be made to the queen. "I will make it 40,000*l.* more," said Sir Robert, subsequently, through a second party, to Queen Caroline, "if my office of minister be secured to me." Caroline was delighted at the idea, intimated that Sir Robert might be sure "the fat beast" had friendly feelings towards him, and then hastening to the king, over whose weaker intellect her more masculine mind held rule, explained to her royal husband that, as Compton considered Walpole the fittest man to be, what he had so long been with efficiency,—prime minister, it would be a foolish act to nominate Compton himself to the office. The king acquiesced, Sir Spenser was made president of the council, and Sir Robert not only persuaded parliament, without difficulty, to settle one hundred thousand a year on the queen, but he also persuaded the august trustees of the people's money to add the entire revenue of the civil list, about one hundred and thirty thousand pounds a year, to the annual sum of seven hundred

thousand pounds, which had been settled as the proper revenue for a king. Sir Robert had thus the wit to bribe king and queen, out of the funds of the people, and we cannot be surprised that their majesties looked upon him and his as true allies. Indeed Caroline did not wait for the success of the measure in order to show her confidence in Walpole. Their majesties had removed from Richmond to their temporary palace in Leicester Fields, on the very evening of their receiving notice of their accession to the crown; and the next day all the nobility and gentry in town crowded to kiss their hands; "my mother," says Horace Walpole, "among the rest, who, Sir Spenser Compton's designation and not his evaporation being known, could not make her way between the scornful backs and elbows of her late devotees, nor could approach nearer to the queen than the third or fourth row; but no sooner was she descried by her majesty than the queen said aloud: 'There I am sure I see a friend!' The torrent divided and shrank to either side, 'and as I came away,' said my mother, 'I might have walked over their heads, had I pleased.'"

When Louis XIV., perhaps not without some surprise, found that his "grandeur" did not confer upon him the benefit hinted at in the sermon of a court chaplain, to the effect that "all men,—that is, *almost all* men—must die!" he at least comforted himself with one consideration, namely, that he had placed his illegitimate children in the line of succession to the throne, and that of course this, his will, made when living, would be respected after he should be dead. But the ass in the fable was not more scornful of the sick lion than the French people were of the dead king. No sooner was he fairly entombed in the vaults of St. Denis, than his will was quashed with as little ceremony as if it had been a fraudulent document,—as indeed it was, the fraud of a king who thought he could overturn law as he lay in the grave. Generally speaking, the "wills" of despots are antagonistic to despotism; but the last testament of Louis would have made of the French people the slaves of a despot dead and disembowelled.

George I. does not appear to have remembered the instruction which he might have drawn from the circumstance of the quashing of the will of so irresponsible a monarch as Louis XIV. He

calmly drew up a will which he coolly thought his successor would respect. Perhaps he remembered that his son believed in ghosts and vampires, and would fulfil a dead man's will out of mere terror of a dead man's visitation. But George Augustus had no such fear, nor any such respect as that noticed above.

At the first council held by George II., Dr. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, in whose hands George I. had deposited his last will and testament, produced that precious instrument, placed it before the king, and composed himself to hear the instructions of the deceased parent recited by his heir. The new king, however, put the paper in his pocket, walked out of the room, never uttered a word more upon the subject, and general rumor subsequently proclaimed that the royal will had been dropped into the fire by the testator's son.

That testator, however, had been a destroyer of wills himself; he had burnt that of the poor old Duke of Zell, and he had treated in like manner, the last will of Sophia Dorothea. The latter document favored both his children more than he approved, and the king, who could do no wrong, committed a felonious act, which for a common criminal would have purchased a halter. Being given to this sort of iniquity himself, he naturally thought ill of the heir whom he looked upon as bound to respect the will of his father. To bind him the more securely to such observance, he left two duplicates of his will; one of which was deposited with the Duke of Wölfenbuttel, the other with another German prince, whose name has not been revealed, and both were given up by the depositaries, for fee and reward duly paid for the service. The copies were destroyed in the same way as the original. What instruction was set down in this document has never been ascertained. Walpole speaks of a reported legacy of forty thousand pounds to the king's surviving mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, and of a subsequent compromise made with the husband of the duchess's "niece" and heiress, Lady Walsingham;—a compromise which followed upon a threatened action at law. Something similar is said to have taken place with the King of Prussia, to whose wife, the daughter of George I., the latter monarch was reported to have bequeathed a considerable legacy.

However this may be, the surprise of the council and the consternation of the primate were excessive. The latter dignitary was the last man, however, who could with propriety have blamed a fellow man for acting contrary to what was expected of him. He himself had been the warmest advocate of religious toleration, until he reached the primacy, and had an opportunity for the exercise of a little harshness towards dissenters. The latter were as much astonished at their ex-advocate as the latter was astounded by the act of the king.

We will not further allude to the coronation of George and Caroline than by saying that, on the occasion in question, these sovereigns displayed a gorgeousness of taste, of a somewhat barbarous quality. The coronation was the most splendid that had been seen for years. George, despite his low stature and fair hair which heightened the weakness of his expression at this period, was said to be, on this occasion, "every inch a king." He enjoyed the splendor of the scene and of himself, and thought it cheaply purchased at the cost of much fatigue.

Caroline was not inferior to her lord. It is true that of crown jewels she had none, save a pearl necklace, the solitary spoil left of all the gems, "rich and rare," which had belonged to Queen Anne, and which had, for the most part, been distributed by the late king among his favorites of every degree. Had his daughter, the Queen of Prussia, been among those for whom he affected some attachment, it is possible that a few relics of the crown, or rather national, property, might yet be found among the treasures of Berlin. However this may be, Caroline wore, on the occasion of her crowning, not only the pearl necklace of Queen Anne, but "she had on her head and shoulders all the pearls and necklaces which she could borrow from the ladies of quality at one end of the town, and on her petticoat all the diamonds she could hire of the Jews and jewellers at the other; so," adds Lord Hervey, from whom this detail is taken, "the appearance and the truth of her finery was a mixture of magnificence and meanness, not unlike the *éclat* of royalty in many other particulars, when it comes to be nicely examined, and its sources traced to what money hires and flattery lends."

The queen dressed for the grand ceremony in a private room at Westminster. Early in the morning, she put on "an undress" at St. James's, of which we are interestingly told that "everything was new." She was carried across St. James's Park privately in a chair, bearing no distinctive mark upon it, and preceded at a short distance, by the Lord Chancellor and Mrs. Howard, both of whom were in "hack sedans." She was dressed by that lady. Mrs. Herbert, another bedchamber woman, would fain have shared in the honor, but as she was herself in full dress for the ceremony, she was pronounced incapable of attiring her who was to be the heroine of it. At the conclusion of the august affair, the queen unrobed in an adjacent apartment, and, as in the morning, was smuggled back to St. James's in a private chair.

Magnificent as Caroline was in borrowed finery at her coronation, she was excelled, in point of show, by Mrs. Oldfield, on the stage at Drury Lane. The theatre was closed on the night of the real event. The government had no idea then of dividing a multitude, but the management expended a thousand pounds in getting up the pageant of the crowning of Anne Boleyn, at the close of "Henry VIII." In this piece, Booth made Henry the principal character, and Cibber's Wolsey sank to a second-rate part. The pageant, however, was so attractive, that it was often played, detached from the piece, at the conclusion of a comedy, or any other play. Caroline went more than once with her royal consort to witness this representation, an honor which was refused to the more vulgar show, which had but indifferent success, at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. Were there "cause and consequence" in these facts, and in the subsequent refusal of Cibber to accept the *Beggars' Opera*, and the eager reception by Rich of the same piece, which was afterwards represented to the great annoyance of court and cabinet, allegedly satirized therein?

The king's revenue, as settled upon him by the Whig parliament, was larger than any of our kings had before enjoyed. Caroline's jointure, 100,000*l.* a year, with Somerset House and Richmond Lodge, was double that which had been granted previously to any queen. This success had been so notoriously the result of Walpole's exertions, that the husband of Caroline, who dealt in very strong

terms, began to look complacently on the "rogue and rascal," thought his brother Horace, bearable, in spite of his being, as George used to call him, "scoundrel," "fool," and "dirty buffoon," and he even felt less averse than usual to the two secretaries of state, of Walpole's administration, the Duke of Newcastle, the "impertinent fool," whom he had threatened at the christening of William Duke of Cumberland; and Lord Townshend, whom he was wont to designate as a "choleric blockhead." The issue of the affair was, that of Walpole's cabinet, no one went out but the minister's son-in-law,—Lord Malpas, roughly ejected from the Mastership of the Robes, and "Stinking Yonge," as the king used elegantly to designate Sir William, who was turned out of the Commission of Treasury, and whose sole little failings were, that he was "pitiful, corrupt, contemptible, and a great liar," though, as Lord Hervey says, "rather a mean than a vicious one," which does not seem to me to mend the matter, and which is a distinction without a difference. After all, "Stinking Yonge" only dived to come up fresh again. And Lord Malpas performed the same feat.

Henceforth, it was understood by every lady, says Lord Hervey, "that Sir Robert was the queen's minister; that whoever he favored she distinguished, and whoever she distinguished the king employed." The queen ruled, without seeming to rule. She was mistress by power of suggestion. A word from her in public, addressed to the king, generally earned for her a rebuke. Her consort so pertinaciously declared that he was independent, and that she never meddled with public business of any kind, that every one, even the early dupes of the assertion, ceased at last to put any faith in it. Caroline "not only meddled with business, but directed everything that came under that name, either at home or abroad." It is too much, perhaps, to say that her power was unrivalled and unbounded, but it was doubtless great, and purchased at great cost. That she could induce her husband to employ a man whom he had not yet learned to like, was in itself no small proof of her power, considering the peculiarly obstinate disposition of the monarch.

Her recommendation of Walpole was not based, it is believed, upon any very exalted motives. Walpole himself, in his official connections with the sovereign, was certainly likely to take every

advantage of the opportunity to create favorable convictions of his ability. Caroline, in praising his ability to the king, suggested that Sir Robert was rich enough to be honest, and had so little private business of his own, that he had all the more leisure to devote to that of the king. "New leeches would be not the less hungry;" and with this very indifferent sort of testimony to her favorite's worth Caroline secured a servant for the king, and a minister for herself.

The tact of the queen was so admirable, that the husband, who followed her counsel in all things, never even himself suspected but that he was leading her. This was the very triumph of the queen's art, and the crowning proof of the simplicity and silliness of the king. It is said that he sneered at Charles I. for being governed by *his* wife; at Charles II. for being governed by his mistresses; at James led by priests; at William duped by men; at Queen Anne deceived by her favorites; and at his father, who allowed himself to be ruled by any one who could approach him. And he finished his catalogue of scorn by proudly asking, "Who governs now?" The courtiers probably smiled behind their jaunty hats. The wits, and some of them were courtiers too, answered the query more roughly, and they remarked, in rugged rhyme and bad grammar—

> You may strut, dapper George, but 'twill all be in vain;
> We know 'tis Queen Caroline, not you that reign—
> You govern no more than Don Philip of Spain.
> Then if you would have us fall down and adore you,
> Lock up your fat spouse, as your dad did before you.

The two were otherwise described by other poetasters, as—

> So strutting a king and so prating a queen.

It is a fact, at which we need not be surprised, that the most cutting satires against the king, as led by his wife, were from the pens of female writers,—or said to be so. And this is likely enough; for in no quarter is there so much contempt for a man who leans upon, rather than supports, his wife. The court certainly offered good opportunity for the satirists to make merry with. It is said of the court of Anne of Brittany, the wife of two

kings of France, Charles VIII. and Louis XII., that it was so renowned for the perfection of its morality and correctness of conduct, that to gain a bride from amongst the young ladies who composed the suite of the queen, was the object of ambition with all the nobles of the time, and to be permitted to place their daughters under her eye, was the most anxious wish of all the mothers who desired to see them respected and admired. The court of Caroline, it must be confessed, was far beneath the high standard of that of the lady who brought the duchy of Brittany with her as a dowry to France. There was not much female delicacy in it, and still less manly dignity,—even in the presence of the queen herself. Thus we hear, for instance, of Caroline, one evening, at Windsor, asking Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Townshend where they had dined that day? My lord replied that he had dined with lord and lady Trevor, an aged couple, and the lady remarkable for her more than ordinary plainness. Whereupon Sir Robert, with considerable latitude of expression, intimated, jokingly, that his friend was paying political court to the lord, in order to veil a court of another kind addressed to the lady. Lord Townshend, not understanding raillery on such a topic, grew angry, and, in defending himself against the charge of seducing old Lady Trevor, was not content with employing phrases of honest indignation alone, but used illustrations that no "lord" would ever think of using before a lady. Caroline grew uneasy, not at the growing indelicacy of phrase, but at the angry feelings of the Peachum and Lockit of the Court: and "to prevent Lord Townshend's replying, or the thing being pushed any further, only laughed, and began immediately to talk on some other subject." *

The mention of the heroes in Gay's opera serves to remind me that, in 1729, the influence of the queen was again exerted to lead the king to do what he had not himself dreamed of doing.

Sir Robert Walpole must have been more "thin-skinned" than he is usually believed to have been, if he could really have felt wounded, as it would appear was the case, by the alleged satire of the Beggars' Opera. The public would seem to have been the

* Lord Hervey's Memoirs, &c., of the Court of Queen Caroline.

authors of such satire rather than Gay, for they made application of many passages, to which the writer of them probably attached no personal meaning.

The origin of the piece was certainly *not* political. It was a mere Newgate pastoral put into an operatic form, and intended to ridicule, what it succeeded in overthrowing for a season, the newly-introduced Italian Opera. The piece had been refused by Cibber, and was accepted by Rich, who brought it out at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, on the 29th of January, 1728, with such success, that it was said of it,—that it made Gay rich, and Rich gay. Walker was his Macheath, and Miss Fenton, afterwards Duchess of Bolton, the Polly,—a character in which she was not approached by either of her three immediate successors, Miss Warren, Miss Cantrell, or sweet Kitty Clive. Some of the passages, seized upon as satires on Walpole, Townshend, and Walpole's daughter, "Molly Skerrett," seem as harmless of satire as Spiller was, who played *Mat o' the Mint*, and who shortly after died of apoplexy, while acting in the "Rape of Proserpine;"—a catastrophe which might be as reasonably called a satire upon the apoplectic destiny of George I., as that all the passages of the opera were originally intended as caricatures of the administration. Johnson says of the piece that it was plainly written only to divert,—without any moral purpose, and therefore not likely to do good. This is the truth, no doubt; and if Gay put in a few strong passages just previous to representation, it was the public application that gave them double force. Perhaps the application would have been stronger if Quin had originally played, as was intended, the part of Macheath. To step from Macbeth to the highwayman might have had a political signification given to it; and, indeed, Quin did play, and sing, the captain, one night for his benefit,—just as another great tragedian, Young, did, within our own recollection. However, never had piece such success. It was played at every theatre in the kingdom, and every audience was as keenly alive for passages that could be applied against the court and government, as they were for mere ridicule against the Italian Opera.

Caroline herself was probably not opposed to the *morale* of the piece. Her own chairmen were suspected of being in league with

highwaymen, and probably were; but on their being arrested, and dismissed from her service by the master of her household who suspected their guilt, she was indignant at the liberty taken, and insisted on their being restored. She had no objection to be safely carried by suspected confederates of highwaymen.

The poverty of "Polly" could not render it exempt from being made the scape-goat for the Beggars' Opera, in which Walpole, from whom Gay could not obtain a place, was said to be "shown-up," night after night, as a thief, and the friend of thieves. The Beggars' Opera had a run before its satire was felt by him against whom it was chiefly directed. "Polly" is very stupid and not satirical, but it was a favorite with the author. The latter, therefore, was especially annoyed at receiving an injunction from the lord chamberlain's office, obtained at the request of Sir Robert, whereby the representation of "Polly" was forbidden in every theatre. The poet determined to shame his enemies by printing the piece, with a smart political supplement annexed. Gay was the "spoiled child" of the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry. They espoused his cause, and the duchess was especially active, urgent and successful in procuring subscriptions;—compelling them, by gentle violence, even from the most reluctant. This zeal for the vexed poet went so far that the duchess solicited subscriptions even in the queen's apartment, and in the royal drawing-room. There was something pleasant in making even the courtiers subscribe towards the circulating of a piece which royalty, through its official, had prohibited from being acted. The zealous duchess was thus busy with three or four gentlemen, in one corner of the room, when the king came upon them, and inquired the nature of her business. "It is a matter of humanity and charity," said her grace, "and I do not despair but that your majesty will contribute to it." The monarch disappointed Gay's patroness in this respect, but he exhibited no symptom whatever of displeasure, and left her to her levying occupation. Subsequently, however, in the queen's apartment, the subject was talked over between the royal pair, and not till then did George perceive that the conduct of the duchess was so impertinent that it was necessary to forbid her appearing again, at least for the present, at court.

The king's vice-chamberlain, Mr. Stanhope, was despatched with a verbal message to this effect. The manner and the matter equally enraged Gay's patroness, and she delivered a note of acknowledgment to the vice-chamberlain, in which she stated that she was both surprised and gratified at the royal and agreeable command to stay away from court, seeing that she had never gone there but for her own diversion, and also from a desire of showing some civility to the king and queen! The lively lady further intimated, that perhaps it was as well that they who dared to speak, or even think, truth, should be kept away from a court where it was unpalatable; although she had thought that in supporting truth and innocence in the palace, she was paying the very highest compliment possible to both their majesties.

When the note was completed, the writer gave it to Mr. Stanhope to read. The stiff vice-chamberlain felt rather shocked at the tone, and politely advised the duchess to think better of the matter, and write another note. Her grace consented, but the second edition was so more highly spiced, and so more pungent than the first, that the officer preferred taking the latter, which he must have placed before king and queen with a sort of decent horror, appropriate to a functionary of his polite vocation. The duchess lost the royal favor, and the duke, her husband, lost his posts.

After all, it seems singular that while so stupid a piece as "Polly" was prohibited, the representation of the Beggars' Opera still went on. The alleged offence was thus seemingly permitted, while visitation was made on an unoffending piece;—and subscriptions for the printing of that piece were asked for, as we have seen, by the Duchess of Queensberry, in the very apartments of the sovereign, who is said to have been most offended at the poet's alleged presumption.

Other poets and the players advanced in the good will of Caroline and her house by producing pieces complimentary to the Brunswick family. Thus Rich, who had offended the royal family by getting up the Beggars' Opera, in January, 1728, produced Mrs. Haywood's tragedy of "Frederick, Duke of Brunswick-Lunenburg," in March, 1729. The authoress dedicated her play to Frederick

Prince of Wales, and her object in writing it was to represent one of the ancestors of his royal highness as raised to the imperial throne in consequence of his virtues. It may be a question whether Caroline or her husband, or son, could approve of a subject which exhibited the Brunswick monarch falling under the dagger of an assassin. However this may be, the public was indifferent to the piece and its object; and, after being represented three times, it disappeared forever and left the stage to be again occupied by the Beggar's Opera,—Peachum—Walpole, Lockit—Townshend, and Mat o' the Mint, type of easy financiers, who gaily bid the public "stand and deliver!"

On the first occasion on which George I. left England to visit Hanover, he appointed the Prince of Wales regent of the kingdom during his absence. The prince, in spite of his limited powers,—he was unable to act on the smallest point, without the sanction of ministers,—contrived to gain considerable and well-deserved popularity. George never again allowed him to hold the same honorable office; and the son and father hated each other ever after. In the May of this year, that son, now king, quitted England in order to visit the electorate, but he did not appoint Frederick Prince of Wales as regent during his absence. He delegated that office to the queen, and most probably by the queen's advice. Frederick had not been long in London before the opposition party made him, if not their chief, at least their rallying point: the prince hated his father heartily and openly, and he had as little regard for his mother. When application was made to Parliament to pay some alleged deficiencies in the civil list, Frederick was particularly severe on the extravagance of his sire, and the method adopted to remedy it. He talked loudly of what he would have done in a similar extremity, or rather of how he would never have allowed himself to fall into so extreme a difficulty. He was doubly in the wrong,—"in the first place, for saying what he ought only to have thought; and, in the next, for not thinking what he ought not to have said." It was not likely, even if the king had been so disposed, that the queen would have consented to an arrangement which would have materially diminished her own consequence. She was accordingly invested with the office of regent, and she performed its duties

with a grace and an efficiency which caused universal congratulation that the post had not been confided to other, and necessarily weaker, hands. She had Sir Robert Walpole at her side to aid her with his counsel, and the presence of the baronet's enemy, Lord Townshend, with the king, had no effect in damaging the power effectively administered by Caroline and her great minister.

It was not merely during the absence of the king in Hanover that Caroline may be said to have ruled in England. The year 1730 affords an illustration on this point.

The Dissenters, who had originally consented to the Test and Corporation Acts, upon a most unselfish ground,—for they sacrificed their own interest in order that the Romanists might be prevented from being admitted to places of power and trust, now demanded the repeal of those acts. The request perplexed the crown and ministry, especially when an election was pending. To promise the dissenters, and it was more especially the Presbyterians who moved in this matter, relief, would be to deprive the crown of the votes of churchmen; and to reject the petition, would be to set every dissenter against the government and its candidates. Sir Robert Walpole, in his perplexity, looked around for a good genius to rescue him from the dilemma in which he was placed. He paused, on considering Hoadly, Bishop of Salisbury. The bishop was the very *deus ex machinâ*, most needed, but he had been scurvily treated on matters of preferment; and Walpole, who had face for most things, had not the face to ask help from a man whom he had ill-treated. The queen stepped in, and levelled the difficulty.

Caroline sent for Hoadly to come to her at Kensington. She received the prelate with affability, and overwhelmed him with flattery, compliments on his ability, and grateful expressions touching his zeal, and the value of his services, in the king's cause. She had now, she said, a further service to ask at his hands; and, of course, it was one that demanded of him no sacrifice of opinion or consistency: the queen would have been the last person to ask such a thing of the reverend prelate! The service was this. The dissenters required the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. The government did not dispute their right to have such a conces-

sion made to them, but it did feel that the moment was inconvenient; and, therefore, Bishop Hoadly, for whom the whole body of dissenters entertained the most profound respect, was solicited to make this opinion known to them, and to induce them to defer their petition to a more favorable opportunity.

The queen supported her request by such close and cogent arguments, flattered the bishop so adroitly, and drew such a picture of the possibly deplorable results of an attempt to force the repeal of the acts alluded to, at the present moment, that Hoadly may be excused if he began to think that the stability of the House of Hanover depended on the course he should take in this conjuncture. He was not, however, to be cajoled out of his opinions, or his independence; he pronounced the restrictive acts unreasonable, politically—and profane, theologically. He added, that, as a friend to religious and civil liberty, he would vote for the repeal, whenever, and by whomsoever, proposed. He should stultify himself, if he did otherwise. All that was in his "little power," consistent with his honor and reputation, he would, nevertheless, willingly do. If he could be clearly convinced, that the present moment was an unpropitious one for pressing the demand, and perilous to the stability of the government, he would not fail to urge upon the dissenters to postpone presenting their petition, until the coming of a more favorable opportunity.

The out-of-door world no sooner heard of this interview between the queen and the prelate, than a report arose that her majesty had succeeded in convincing the right reverend father that the claims of the dissenters were unreasonable, and that the bishop, as a consequence of such conviction, would henceforth oppose them, resolutely.

Hoadly became alarmed, for such a report damaged all parties; and he was very anxious to maintain a character for consistency, and at the same time not to lose his little remnant of interest at court. He tried in vain to get a promise from Sir Robert, that, if the dissenters would defer preferring their claims until the meeting of a new parliament, it should then meet with the government support. Sir Robert was too wary to make such a promise, although he hinted his conviction of the reasonableness of the claim, and

that it would be supported when so preferred. But the bishop, in his turn, was too cautious to allow himself to be caught by so flimsy an encouragement; and he was admitted to several subsequent consultations with the queen; but, clever as she was, she could not move the bishop. Hoadly was resolved that the dissenters should know, that if he thought they might with propriety defer their petition, he would uphold its prayer whenever presented.

In the mean time, Sir Robert extricated himself and the government, cleverly. Caroline doubtless enjoyed this exercise of his ability, as well as its results. The dissenters, organizing an agitation, had established a central committee in London, all the members of which were bound to Sir Robert; "all moneyed men, and scriveners, and chosen by his contrivance. They spoke only to be prompted, and acted only as he guided."* This committee had a solemnly farcical meeting with the administration, to hold a consultation in the matter. Sir Robert and the speakers confined themselves to the unseasonableness, but commended the reasonableness, of the petition. "My lord president looked wise, was dull, took snuff, and said nothing. Lord Harrington (the Mr. Stanhope who had waited on the Duchess of Queensberry) took the same silent, passive part. The lord-chancellor (King) and the Duke of Newcastle had done better, had they followed that example, too; but both spoke very plentifully, and were both equally unintelligible; the one (King) from having lost his understanding, and the other from never having had any."†

The committee, after this interview, came to the resolution, that if a petition were presented to parliament now, in favor of the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, "there was no prospect of success." This resolution saved the administration from the storm threatened by the Presbyterian party. That party considered itself betrayed by its own delegates, the queen and Sir Robert were well satisfied with the result, and the bishop was looked upon by the dissenters as having supported their cause too little, and by the queen's cabinet as having supported it too much.

In this case it may, perhaps, be fairly asserted that the queen

* Lord Hervey. † Lord Hervey.

and the minister, while they punished the dissenters, caused the blame to fall upon the Church. Their chief argument was, that the opposition of the clergy would be a source of the greatest embarrassment to the administration. It had long been the fashion to make the Church suffer, at least in reputation, on every occasion when opportunity offered, and without any thought as to whether the establishment deserved it or not. It was in politics precisely as it was in Sir John Vanbrugh's comedy of the "Provoked Wife." It will be remembered that, in that dramatic mirror, which represents nature as objects are seen reflected in flawed glass, when the tailor enters with a bundle, the elegant *Lord Rake* exclaims, "Let me see what's in that bundle!" "An't please you," says the tailor, "it is the doctor of the parish's gown." "The doctor's gown!" cries my lord, and then, turning to *Sir John Brute*, he exultingly inquires, or *re*quires, "Hark you, knight; you won't stick at abusing the clergy, will you?" "No!" shouts *Brute*, "I'm drunk, and I'll abuse anything!" "Then," says *Lord Rake*, "you shall wear this gown whilst you charge the watch; that though the blows fall upon you, the scandal may light upon the Church!" "A generous design, by all the Gods!" is the ecstatic consent of the Pantheistic *Brute*—and it is one to which *Amen!* has been cried by many of the Brute family, since first it was uttered by their illustrious predecessor.

Meanwhile, Caroline could be as earnest and interested upon trifles as she was upon questions of political importance. She loved both to plague and to talk about Mrs. Howard.

That the queen was not more courteous to this lady than their respective positions demanded, there is abundant evidence. In a very early period of the reign, she was required, as bedchamber-woman, to present a basin for the queen to wash her hands in, and to perform the service kneeling. The *etiquette* was, for the basin and ewer to be set on the queen's table by a page of the back stairs; the office of the bedchamber-woman was then to take both, pour out the water, set it before the queen, and remain kneeling the while her majesty washed, of which refreshing ceremony the kneeling attendant was the only one who dared be the ocular witness.

This service of genuflexion remained in courtly fashion till the death of Queen Charlotte. In the mean time, Mrs. Howard was by no means disposed to render it to Queen Caroline. The scene that ensued was highly amusing. On the service being demanded, said Caroline to Lord Hervey, "Mrs. Howard proceeded to tell me, with her little fierce eyes, and cheeks as red as your coat, that, positively, she would not do it; to which I made her no answer then in anger, but calmly, as I would have said to a naughty child: —'*Yes, my dear Howard, I am sure you will. I know you will. Go, go; fie for shame! Go, my good Howard; we will talk of this another time.*' Mrs. Howard did come round; and I told her," said Caroline, "I knew we should be good friends again; but could not help adding, in a little more serious voice, that I owned, of all my servants, I had least expected, as I had least deserved it, such treatment from her; when she knew I had held her up at a time when it was in my power, if I had pleased, any hour of the day, to let her drop through my fingers, thus ——."

With what a lumbering process this royal dressing must have been got through. Imperious masters and mistresses, however, sometimes meet with servants who, while doing their office, could render the object of it supremely ridiculous. Witness Turenne passing Louis XIVth's shirt, which that royal gentleman changed but every other day,—passing it so rapidly over the head of that Lord's anointed, that the warrior-valet set the long tassels appended to his gloves in violent swing, and therewith most irreverently filliped the august nose of "*L'Etat, c' est moi!*" But Turenne paid with exile for his joke.

Caroline's own account of the *fracas* between Mrs. Howard and her husband, is too characteristic to be passed over. The curious in such matters will find it in full detail in "Lord Hervey's Memoirs." In this place it will suffice to say, that, according to Lord Hervey, Mr. Howard had a personal interview with the queen. Caroline described the circumstances of it with great graphic power. At this interview he had said, that he would take his wife out of her majesty's coach if he met her in it. Caroline told him to "Do it, if he dare; though," she added, "I was horribly afraid of him (for we were *tête à tête*) all the time I was thus play-

ing the bully. What added to my fear on this occasion," said the queen, "was, that as I knew him to be so *brutal*, as well as a little mad, and seldom quite sober, so that I did not think it impossible but that he might throw me out of window (for it was in this very room our interview was, and that sash then open, as it is now;) but as soon as I got near the door, and thought myself safe from being thrown out of the window, I resumed my grand tone of queen, and said I would be glad to see who would dare to open my coach-door, and take out one of my servants; knowing all the time that he might do so if he would, and that he could have his wife, and I the affront. Then I told him that my resolution was, positively, neither to force his wife to go to him, if she had no mind to it, nor to keep her if she had. He then said he would complain to the king; upon which I again assumed my high tone, and said, the king had nothing to do with my servants; and, for that reason, he might save himself the trouble, as I was sure the king would give him no answer but that it was none of his business to concern himself with my family; and, after a good deal more conversation of this sort (I standing close to the door all the while to give me courage,) Mr. Howard and I bade one another *good morning*, and he withdrew."

Caroline proceeded to call Lord Trevor "an old fool," for coming to her with thanks from Mrs. Howard, and suggestions that the queen should give 1200*l.* a-year to the husband for the consent of the latter to his wife's being retained in the queen's household. Caroline replied to this suggestion with as high a tone as she could have used when addressing herself to Mr. Howard; but with a coarseness of spirit and sentiment which hardly became a queen, although they do not appear to have been considered unbecoming in a queen at *that* time. "I thought," said Caroline, "I thought I had done full enough, and that it was a little too much, not only to keep the king's '*guenipes*' (trollops) under my roof, but to pay them, too. I pleaded poverty to my good Lord Trevor, and said I would do anything to keep so good a servant as Mrs. Howard about me; but that for the 1200*l.* a-year, I really could not afford it." The king used to make presents to the queen of fine Hanoverian horses, not that *she* might be gratified, but that he might,

when he wanted them, have horses maintained out of her purse. So he gave her a bedchamber-woman in Mrs. Howard; but Caroline would not have her on the same terms as the horses, and the 1200*l.* a-year were probably paid—not by the king, after all, but by the people.

Lord Chesterfield describes the figure of Mrs. Howard as being above the middle size, and well-shaped, with a face which was more pleasing than beautiful.* She was remarkable for the extreme fairness and fineness of her hair. "Her arms were square and lean, that is, ugly. Her countenance was an undecided one, and announced neither good nor ill nature, neither sense nor the want of it, neither vivacity nor dulness." It is difficult to understand how such a face could be "pleasing;" and the following is the characteristic of a commonplace person. "She had good natural sense, not without art, but in her conversation dwelt tediously upon details and *minuties*. Of the man whom she had, when very young, hastily married for love, and heartily hated at leisure, Chesterfield says 'he was sour, dull, and sullen.'" The same writer sets it down as equally unaccountable that the lady should have loved such a man, or that the man should ever have loved anybody. The noble lord is also of opinion that only a Platonic friendship reigned between the king and the favorite; and that it was as innocent as that which was said to have existed between himself and Miss Bellenden.

Very early during the intercourse, "the busy and speculative politicians of the antechambers, who knew everything, but knew everything wrong," imagined that the lady's influence must be all-powerful, seeing that her admirer paid to her the homage of devoting to her the best hours of his day. She did not reject solicitations, we are told, because she was unwilling to have it supposed that she was without power. She neither rejected solicitations, nor bound herself by promises, but hinted at difficulties; and, in short, as Chesterfield well expresses it, she used "all that trite cant of those who with power will not, and of those who without power cannot, grant the requested favors." So far from being

* Chesterfield's Life and Letters; edited by Lord Mahon.

able to make peers, she was not even successful in a well meant attempt to procure a place of 200*l.* a year "for John Gay, a very poor and honest man, and no bad poet, only because he was a poet, which the king considered as a mechanic." Mrs. Howard had little influence, either in the house of the prince, or, when she became Countess of Suffolk, in that of the king. Caroline, we are told, "had taken good care that Lady Suffolk's apartment should not lead to power and favor; and from time to time made her feel her inferiority by hindering the king from going to her room for three or four days, representing it as the seat of a political faction."

CHAPTER III.

THE MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS ANNE.

THE social happiness of Caroline began now to be affected by the conduct of her son Frederick, Prince of Wales. Since his arrival in England, in 1728, he had been but coolly entertained by his parents, who refused to pay the debts he had accumulated in Hanover, previous to his leaving the electorate. He was soon in the arms of the opposition; and the court had no more violent an enemy, political or personal, than this prince.

His conduct, however,—and some portion of it was far from being unprovoked,—did not prevent the court from entering into some social enjoyments of a harmless and not over-amusing nature. Among these may be reckoned the "readings" at Windsor Castle. These readings were of the poetry, or verses rather, of that Stephen Duck the thresher, whose rhymes Swift has ridiculed in lines as weak as anything that ever fell from the pen of Duck. The latter was a Wiltshire laborer, who supported, or tried to support, a family upon the modest wages of four and sixpence a week. In his leisure hours, whenever those could have occurred, he cultivated poetry: and two of his pieces, "The Shunamite," and "The Thresher's Labor," were publicly read in the drawing-room at Windsor Castle, in 1730, by Lord Macclesfield. Caroline pro-

cured for the poet the office of yeoman of the guard, and afterwards made him keeper of her grotto, *Merlin's Cave*, at Richmond. This last act, and the patronage and pounds which Caroline wasted upon the wayward and worthless Savage, show that Swift's epigram upon the busts in the hermitage at Richmond was not based upon truth,—

> Louis, the living learned fed,
> And raised the scientific head.
> Our frugal queen, to save her meat,
> Exalts the heads that cannot eat.

Swift's anger against the queen, who once promised him some medals, but who never kept her word, and from whom he had hoped, perhaps, for a patronage which he failed to acquire, was further illustrated about this time in a fiercely satirical poem, in which he says:—

> May Caroline continue long—
> For ever fair and young—in song.
> What, though the royal carcase must,
> Squeez'd in a coffin, turn to dust?
> Those elements her name compose,
> Like atoms, are exempt from blows.

And, in allusion to the princesses and their prospects, he adds, that Caroline "hath graces of her own:"—

> Three Graces by Lucina brought her,
> Just three, and ev'ry Grace a daughter.
> Here many a king his heart and crown
> Shall at their snowy feet lay down;
> In royal robes they come by dozens
> To court their English-German cousins:
> Besides a pair of princely babies
> That, five years hence, will both be Hebes.

The royal patronage of Duck ultimately raised him to the Church, and made of him Vicar of Kew. But it failed to bring to the thresher substantial happiness. He had little enjoyment in the station to which he was elevated; and weary of the restraints it imposed on him, he ultimately escaped from them by drowning himself.

Of the Graces who were the daughters of Caroline, the marriage of one began now to be canvassed. Meanwhile, there was much food for mere talk in common passing events at home. The courtiers had to express sympathy at their majesties' being upset in their carriage, when travelling only from Kew to London. Then the son of a Stuart had just died in London. He was that Duke of Cleveland who was the eldest son of Charles II. and Barbara Villiers. In the year 1731 died two far more remarkable people. On the 8th of April, "Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell, daughter of Richard Cromwell the Protector, and granddaughter of Oliver Cromwell, died at her house in Bedford Row, in the eighty-second year of her age." In the same month passed away a man whose writings as much amused Caroline as they have done commoner people—Defoe. He had a not much superior intellectual training to that of Stephen Duck, but he was "one of the best English writers that ever had so mean an education." The deaths in the same year of the eccentric and profligate Duke of Wharton, and of the relict of that Duke of Monmouth who lost his head for rebellion against James II., gave further subject of conversation in the court circle, where, if it was understood that death was inevitable and necessary, no one could understand what had induced Dr. Nichols, of Trinity College, Cambridge, to steal books from the libraries in that university town. The court was highly merry at the precipitate flight of the doctor, after he was found out; but there was double the mirth the next year at the awkwardness of the Emperor of Germany, who happening to fire at a stag, chanced to shoot Prince Schwartzenberg, his master of the horse. But we turn from these matters to those of wooing and marriage.

In the year 1733, the proud and eldest daughter of Caroline, she who had expressed her vexation at having brothers, who stood between her and the succession to the crown—a crown, to wear which for a day, she averred she would willingly die when the day was over;—in the year above named, the Princess Anne had reached the mature age of twenty-four, and her hand yet remained disengaged. Neither crown nor suitor had yet been placed at her disposal. A suitor *with* a crown was once, however, very nearly on the point of fulfilling the great object of her ambition,

and that when she was not more than sixteen years of age. The lover proposed was no less a potentate than Louis XV., and he would have offered her a seat on a throne, which, proud as she was, she might have accepted without much condescension. She would have accepted the pleasant destiny which appeared framed for her, with more alacrity than the last English princess who had been wooed by Gallic king—with more readiness than Mary of England displayed when she reluctantly left the court of her brother, Henry VIII., and the Duke of Brandon there, to espouse all that survived of the once gay and gallant Louis XII.

It is said that the proposal to unite Louis XV. and the Princess Anne originated with the French minister, the Duke de Bourbon, and that the project was entertained with much favor and complacency, until it suddenly occurred to some one that if the princess became queen in France, she would be expected to conform to the religion of France. This, it was urged, could not be thought of by a family which was a reigning family only by virtue of its pre-eminent Protestantism. It does not seem to have occurred to any one that when Maria Henrietta espoused Charles I., she had not been even asked to become a professed member of the Church of England, and that we might have asked for the same toleration in France for the daughter of Caroline, as had been given in England to the daughter of the "Grand Henri." However this may be, the affair was not pursued to its end, and Caroline could not say to her daughter what we have recorded that Stanislas said to his on the morning he received an offer for her from the young King Louis:—"*Bon jour, ma fille! vous êtes Reine de France!*"

Anne was unlucky. She was deprived of her succession to the crown of England by the birth of her brothers, and she was kept back from that of France, by a question of religion. She lived moodily on for some half-dozen years, and nothing more advantageous offering, she looked good-naturedly on one of the ugliest princes in Europe. But then he happened to be a sovereign prince in his way. This was the Prince of Orange, who resembled Alexander the Great only in having a wry neck and a halt in his gait. But he also had other deformities, from which the Macedonian was free.

George and Caroline was equally indisposed to accept the prince for a son-in-law, and the parental disinclination was expressed in words to the effect, that neither king nor queen would force the feelings of their daughter, whom they left free to accept or reject the misshapen suitor, who aspired to the plump hand and proud person of the Princess Anne.

The lady thought of her increasing years; that lovers were not to be found on every bush, especially sovereign lovers; and remembering that there were princesses of England before her who had contrived to live in much state and a certain degree of happiness as Princesses of Orange, she declared her intention of following the same course, and compelling her ambition to stoop to the same modest fortune.

The queen was well aware that her daughter knew nothing more of the prince than what she could collect from his counterfeit presentiments limned by flattering artists; and Caroline suggested that she should not be too ready to accept a lover whom she had not seen. The princess was resolute in her determination to take him at once, "for better, for worse." Her royal father was somewhat impatient and chafed by such pertinacity, and exclaimed that the prince was the ugliest man in Holland, and he could not more terribly describe him. "I do not care," said she, "how ugly he may be. If he were a Dutch baboon, I would marry him." "Nay, then, have your way;" said George, in his strong Westphalian accent, which was always rougher and stronger when he was vexed, "have your way; you will find *baboon* enough, I promise you!"

It would hardly be safe, seldom flattering, at the best of times, for candidates for the office of "son-in-law," to hear their merits, persons, and prospects discussed by the family circle into which they are seeking to make entrance. Could the aspiring Prince of Orange only have heard how amiably he was spoken of *en famille* by his future relations, he would perhaps have been less ambitious of completing the alliance. Happily these family secrets were not revealed until long after he could be conscious of them, and accordingly his honest proposals were accepted with ostentatious respect and ill-covered ridicule.

Caroline spoke of the bridegroom as "the animal." His in-

tended wife, when she heard of his arrival, was in no hurry to meet him, but went on at her harpsichord, surrounded by a number of opera-people. When the poor "groom" fell sick, not one of the royal family condescended to visit him, and though he himself maintained a dignified silence on this insulting conduct, his suite, who could not imitate their master's indifference, made comment thereupon loud and frequent enough. They got nothing by it, save their being called Dutch boobies. The Princess Royal exhibited no outward manifestation of either consciousness or sympathy. She appeared precisely the same under all contingencies; and whether the lover were in or out of England, in life or out of it, seemed to this strong-minded lady, to be one and the same thing.

The marriage of the Princess Royal could not be concluded without an application to parliament. To both houses a civil intimation was made of the proposed union of the Princess Anne and the Prince of Orange. In this intimation the king graciously mentioned that he promised himself the concurrence and assistance of the Commons to enable him to give such a portion with his eldest daughter as should be suitable to the occasion. The Commons' Committee promised to do all that the king and queen could expect from them, and they therefore came to the resolution to sell lands in the island of St. Christopher to the amount of 80,000*l.*, and to make over that sum to the king, as the dowry of his eldest daughter. The resolution made part of a bill of which it was only one of the items, and the members in the house affected to be scandalized that the dowry of a princess of England should be "lumped in" among a mass of miscellaneous items,—charities to individuals, grants to old churches, and sums awarded for even less dignified purposes. But the bill passed as it stood, and Caroline, who only a few days before had sent a thousand pounds to the Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, for the rebuilding and adorning of that college, was especially glad to find a dowry for her daughter, in whatever company it might come, provided only it was not out of her own purse.

The news of the securing of the dowry hastened the coming of the bridegroom. On the 7th of November, 1732, he arrived at Greenwich, and thence proceeded to Somerset House. The

nuptials were to have been speedily solemnized, but the lover fell grievously sick. No philter could restore him sufficiently to appear at the altar on the day originally appointed, and the marriage was deferred amid a world of sighs. There was no one whom the postponement of the marriage more annoyed than it did the Duchess of Marlborough. She was then residing in Marlborough House, which had been built some five and twenty years previously by Wren. That architect was employed, not because he was preferred, but that Vanbrugh might be vexed. The ground in which had formerly been kept the birds and fowls ultimately destined to pass through the kitchen to the royal table, had been leased to the duchess by Queen Anne, and the expenses of building amounted to nearly fifty thousand pounds. The duchess both experienced and caused considerable mortifications here. She used to speak of the king in the adjacent palace as her "neighbor George." The entrance to the house, from Pall Mall, was as it still is, a crooked and inconvenient one. To remedy this defect, she intended to purchase some houses "in the Priory," as the locality was called, for the purpose of pulling them down and constructing a more commodious entry to the mansion; but Sir Robert Walpole, with no more dignified motive than mere spite, secured the houses and ground, and erected buildings on the latter, which, as now, completely blocked in the front of the duchess's mansion. She was subjected to a more temporary, but as inconvenient, blockade, when the preparations for the wedding of the imperious Anne and her ugly husband were going on. Among other preparations a boarded gallery, through which the nuptial procession was to pass, was built up close against the duchess's windows, completely darkening her rooms. As the boards remained there during the postponement of the ceremony, the duchess used to look at them with the remark, "I wish the princess would oblige me by taking away her *orange chest!*"

But the sick bridegroom took long to mend; and it was not till the following January that he was even sufficiently convalescent to journey by easy stages to Bath, and there drink in health at the fashionable pump. A month's attendance there restored him to something like health; and in February his serene highness was

gravely disporting himself at Oxford, exchanging compliments and eating dinners with the sages and scholars at that seat of learning. Another month was allowed to pass, and then, on the 24th March, 1733, the royal marriage was solemnized "in the French chapel," St. James's, by the Bishop of London.

The ceremony was as theatrical and coarse as such things used to be in those days. The prince must have looked very much as M. Potier used to look in Riquet a la Houppe, before his transformation from deformity to perfection. He was attired in a "cloth of gold suit;" and George and Caroline may be pardoned if they smiled at the "baboon" whom they were about to accept for their son-in-law. The bride was "in virgin robes of silver tissue, having a train six yards long, which was supported by ten dukes' and earls' daughters, all of whom were attired in robes of silver tissue." The ceremony took place in the evening, and at midnight the royal family supped in public. It was a joyous festival, and not before two in the morning did the jaded married couple retire to the bower prepared for them, where they had to endure the further nuisance of sitting up in bed, in rich undresses, while the court and nobility, "fresh" from an exhilarating supper and strong wines, defiled before them, making pleasant remarks the while, as "fine gentlemen" used to make, who had been born in our Augustan age.

The married couple were assuredly a strangely assorted pair. The bride, indeed, was not without common-place charms. In common with a dairy-maid, the princess had a lively clear look and a very fair complexion. Like many a dairy-maid, too, of the time, she was very much marked with the small-pox. She was also ill-made, and inclined to become as obese as her royal mother. But then the bridegroom! All writers dealing with the subject agree that his ugliness was something extraordinary. No one doubts that he was deformed. But Hervey adds some traits that are revolting. His serene highness did not, like the gods, distil a celestial ichor, and there was something so strong about him, that "you might nose him i' the lobby." He appears, however, not to have been void of sense or good feeling; for when, at the period of his arrival, he was received with very scanty honors and scurvy

ceremony, was made to feel that he was nothing in himself, and could only become anything here by marrying an English princess; when George, if not Caroline, "snubbed" the courtiers who crowded his apartments at Somerset House; and when, in short, the prince of 12,000*l.* a year was made to feel that but little value was set upon him,—he bore it all in silence, or as if he did not perceive it. Let us hope that gallantry for the lady induced the princely Quasimodo thus to act. It was almost more than she deserved; for while the people were ready to believe that the alliance was entered into the better to strengthen the Protestant succession, Anne herself was immediately moved thereto by fear, if she were left single, of ultimately depending for a provision upon her brother Frederick. She considered her Dutch husband with something of the spirit with which, Sir Edward Bulwer says, ultra-pious and aged maidens in country towns sigh to lie at rest on Abraham's bosom,—the only male bosom, adds the baronet, on which their heads are ever likely to repose and find protection.

Nature will assert its claims in spite of pride or expediency; and accordingly it was observed that after the bridegroom had arrived, and the marriage procession began to move through the temporarily constructed gallery, blazing with light, and glittering with bright gems and brighter eyes, the bride herself seemed slightly touched, and Caroline especially grave and anxious in her deportment. She appeared, for the first time, to feel that her daughter was about to make a great sacrifice, and her consequent anxiety was probably increased by the conviction that it was too late to save her daughter from impending fate. The king himself who had never been in the eager condition of the *seigneur* in the song, who so peremptorily exclaims—

> De ma fille Isabelle
> Sois l'époux à l'instant—

manifested more impassibility than ever. Finally, the knot was tied under a salvo of artillery and a world of sighs.

The sublime and the ridiculous stood in close familiarity in the public nuptial chamber, in the evening. According to custom, as before stated, all the court met in this apartment to congratulate

the newly-married pair, who were attired in fancy night-dresses of little taste and great splendor.

Caroline felt compassion for her daughter, but she restrained her feelings until her eye fell upon the bridegroom. In his silver tissue night-dress, his light peruque, his ugliness and his deformity, he struck her as the impersonation of a monster. His ill figure was so ill dressed that, looked at from behind, he appeared to have no head, and seen from before, he appeared as if he had neither neck nor legs.* The queen was wonderfully moved at the sight; moved with pity for her daughter, and with indignation at her husband. The portion of the ceremony which used to be the merriest was by far the most mournful, at least so far as the queen's participation therein was concerned. She fairly cried with mingled vexation, disappointment, and disgust. She could not even revert to the subject, for days after, without crying, and yet laughing too, as the oddity of the bridegroom's ugliness came across her mind. And indeed that happy man, although he could not have said of his bride, except by comparison,

Grands dieu, combien elle est jolie!

he might with good reason have sung of himself—

Et moi, je suis, je suis si laid.

It may be asserted, without much fear of contradiction, that a wedding of any pretension at all is seldom got through without offence to somebody. The wedding of the Princess Anne was one of more than mere pretensions, and the ceremonial arrangements gave rise to many ill feelings. The Irish peers, above all others, felt themselves insulted, and were warmly resentful, as was only natural under the circumstances.

Lord Hervey was the master of the ceremonies on this serio-comic occasion. According to his table of precedence, the Irish peers were to walk in the procession after the entire body of the peerage of Great Britain. This was putting the highest Irish peer beneath the lowest baron in Britain. The Hibernian lords

* Lord Hervey.

claimed to walk immediately after the English and Scotch peers of their own degree. It was the most modest claim ever made by that august body; but modest as it was, the arrogant peers of Great Britain threatened, if the claim were allowed, to absent themselves from the ceremony altogether! The case was represented to Caroline, and she took the side of right and common sense; but when she was told that to allow the Irish claim would be to banish every British peer from the solemn ceremony, she was weak enough to give way. Lord Hervey, in his programme for the occasion, omitted to make any mention of the peers of Ireland at all—thus leaving them to walk where they could. On being remonstrated with, he said that if the Irish lords were not satisfied, he would keep all the finery standing, and they might walk through it in any order of precedency they liked, on the day after the wedding. One lord grievously complained of the omission of the illustrious Hibernian body from the programme. Lord Hervey excused himself by remarking, that as the Irish house of peers was then sitting in Dublin, he never thought, being an Englishman, of the august members of that assembly being in two places at once.

The claim was probably disallowed, because Ireland was not then in union with England, as Scotland was. On no other ground could the claim have been refused; and Caroline saw that even that ground was not a very good one whereon to rest a denial. As it was, the Irish peers felt like poor relations, neither invited to nor prohibited from the joyous doings, but with a thorough conviction that, to use a popular phrase, their room was deemed preferable to their company.

During the week following the marriage, Frederick Prince of Wales was employed, after a fashion which suited his tastes extremely well, in escorting his brother-in-law to witness the sights of London. It then appears to have suddenly struck the government that it would be as well to make an Englishman of the bridegroom, and that that consummation could not be too quickly arrived at. Accordingly, a bill for naturalizing the prince was brought in and read three times on the same day. It, of course, passed unanimously, and the prince received the intelligence of his having

been converted into a Briton with a phlegm which showed that he had not altogether ceased to be a Dutchman.

He was much more pleasurably excited in the April of the following year, when he heard that the king had sent a written message to the Commons, intimating that he had settled five thousand a year on the Princess Royal, and desiring that they would enable him to make the grant for the life of the princess, as it would otherwise determine on his majesty's death. The Commons complied with this message, and the Prince of Orange was infinitely more delighted with this act than with that which bestowed on him the legal rights of an Englishman.

This pleasant little arrangement having been concluded, the prince and princess set out for Holland, from St. James's on the 10th of April, 1734; and in July of the same year the princess was again in England, not at all to the satisfaction of her sire, and but very scantily to the delight of her mother. The young lady, however, was determined to remain; and it was not till November that she once more returned to her home behind the dykes. The queen was not sorry to part with her, for just then she was deep in the fracas connected with the dismissal of her husband's "favorite," Lady Suffolk, from her office of mistress of the robes to her majesty, an office in which she was succeeded by the more worthy Countess of Tankerville. The king had the less time to be troubled with thought about "that old deaf woman," as he very ungallantly used to call his ancient "favorite," as he too was deeply engaged in protesting against the Elector Palatine, who had been very vigorously protesting against the right of the king, as Elector of Hanover, to bear the title of arch-treasurer of the empire.

But if Caroline began to forget her daughter, Anne was borne in remembrance by her sister, Amelia.

The commiseration which the queen *had* felt for her daughter was shared by the sister of the latter, the Princess Amelia, who declared that nothing on earth could have induced her to wed with such a man as the Prince of Orange. Her declaration was accepted for as much as it was worth. The gentle Princess Caroline, on the other hand, thought that her sister, under the circumstan-

ces, had acted wisely, and that, had *she* been so placed, she would have acted in like manner. Nor did the conduct of the bride give the world any reason to think that she stood in need of pity. She appeared to adore the "monster," who, it must be confessed, exhibited no particular regard for his spouse. The homage she paid him was perfect. "She made prodigious court to him," says Lord Hervey, "addressed every thing she said to him, and applauded every thing he said to anybody else."

Perhaps the pride of the princess would not permit a doubt to be thrown upon her supreme happiness. Her brother Frederick strove to mar it by raising a quarrel, on a slight but immensely absurd, foundation. He reproached her for the double fault of presuming to be married before him, and of accepting a settlement from her father, when *he* had none. He was ingenious in finding fault, but there may have been a touch of satire in this, for Anne was known to have been as groundlessly angry with her brother for a circumstance which he could not very well help, namely, his own birth, whereby the Princess Royal ceased to be next heir to the crown.

The prince, however, was not much addicted to showing respect to anybody, least of all to his mother. It was because of this miserable want of respect for the queen that the king, in an interview forced on him by his son, refused to settle a fixed annuity upon him,—at least till he had manifested a more praiseworthy conduct towards the queen.

The anxiety of Frederick on this occasion was not unnatural, for he was deeply in debt, and of the 100,000*l.* granted to the prince by parliament out of the civil list, the king allowed him only 36,000*l.* The remainder was appropriated by the king, who, doubtless, made his son's conduct the rule of his liberality, measuring his supplies to the prince, according as the latter was well or ill-behaved. It was a degrading position enough, and the degradation was heightened by the silent contempt with which the king passed over his son's application to be permitted to join in active service. Throughout these first family quarrels, the queen preserved a great impartiality, with some leaning, perhaps, towards serving her son. Nothing, however, came of it; and, for the mo-

ment, Frederick was fain to be content with doing the honors of the metropolis to his ungraceful brother-in-law.

The congratulatory addresses which were presented on the occasion of the marriage, had a mordantly satirical tone about them. It is wonderful how George and Caroline, whose unpopularity was increasing at this time, continued to preserve their equanimity at hearing praises rung on the name and services of "Orange,"—the name of a prince who had become king of England, by rendering the questionable service to *his father-in-law*, of turning him off the throne.

The address of the lords to the queen, especially congratulating the mother on the marriage of her daughter, was rendered painful instead of pleasant by its being presented, that is, spoken, to her by Lord Chesterfield. Caroline had never seen this peer since the time he was dismissed from her husband's household, when she was Princess of Wales. He had not been presented at court since the accession of the present sovereign, and the queen was therefore resolved to treat as an utter stranger, the man who had been impertinent enough to declare he designed that the step he took should be considered as a compliment to the queen. The latter abhorred him nevertheless for his present attempt to turn the compliment, addressed to her by the lords, into a joke. Before he appeared, Caroline intimated her determination not to let the peer's cool impertinence awe or disconcert her. He really did find what she declared he should, that "it was as little in his power for his presence to embarrass her, as for his raillery behind her back to pique her, or his consummate skill in politics to distress the king or his ministers."*

The queen acted up to this resolution. She received Lords Chesterfield, Scarborough, and Hardwicke, the bearers of the address, in her bedchamber, no one else being present but her children and Lord Hervey, who stood behind her chair. The last-named nobleman, in describing the scene, says: "Lord Chesterfield's speech was well written and well got by heart, and yet delivered with a faltering voice, a face as white as a sheet, and

* Lord Hervey.

every limb trembling with concern. The queen's answer was quiet and natural, and delivered with the same ease that she would have spoken to the most indifferent person in her circle."

Caroline, however, had more serious matters to attend to during this year than affairs of marriage. Of these we will now briefly speak.

Sir Robert Walpole's celebrated Excise scheme was prolific in raising political agitations, and exciting both political and personal passions. The peers were, strangely enough, even more resolute against the measure than the Commons,—or perhaps it would be more correct to say, that a portion of them took advantage of the popular feeling to further thereby their own particular interests and especial objects.

It is again illustrative of the power and influence of Caroline, and of the esteem in which she was held, that a body of the peers delegated Lord Stair to proceed to the queen, at Kensington, and remonstrate with her upon the unconstitutional and destructive measure, as they designated the excise project.

Lord Stair was a bold man, and was accustomed to meet and contend with sovereigns. He had not only on many an occasion foiled the king and the Regent of France, but he had defeated the Polish monarch in a way he loved to boast of. That potentate, when Lord Stair was residing at Warsaw, once very much astonished the Scotch nobleman, by exhibiting a feat which he accomplished with singular strength and dexterity. It was this: grasping a sword, and giving it a peculiar swing, or twist in the air, ending with a sudden jerk, he would cause the blade to break off close at the handle. He boasted that he could produce the same effect with any sword. Lord Stair defied him to the trial, and brought him a stout Scottish broadsword, which successfully resisted all the attempts, strength, and skill of the iron-wristed monarch, to fracture it. He acknowledged his defeat, and struck a medal to commemorate that rare occurrence. On one side was the emblazoned shield of Poland, on the other a naked arm brandishish a sword, with the motto beneath, *Vis tandem inæqualis*. Lord Stair, so accustomed to foil sovereigns, had no doubt of being able to turn Caroline to his purpose. But the queen twisted him as

Augustus had the weapons of continental manufacture. She shivered the Scottish blade to boot; and the noble lord himself might have retired from the interview muttering, *Vis tandem inæqualis*,—My strength has at length been unequal to what it was tried upon.

And no wonder; for never did delegate perform his mission so awkwardly. He thought to awaken the queen's indignation against Walpole, by imparting to her the valuable admonitory knowledge that she was ruled by that subtle statesman. He fancied he improved his position by informing her that Walpole was universally hated, that he was no gentleman, and that he was as ill-looking as he was ill-inclined. He even forgot his mission, save when he spoke of fidelity to his constituents, by going into purely personal matters, railing at the minister whose very shoe-buckles he had kissed, in order to be appointed vice-admiral of Scotland, when the Duke of Queensberry was ejected from that post,—and accusing Walpole of being manifestly untrue to the trust which he held, seeing that whenever there was an office to dispose of, he invariably preferred giving it to the Campbells rather than to him,—Stair. To the *Campbells!*—he reiterated, as if the very name were enough to rouse Caroline against Walpole.—To the Campbells! who tried to rule England by means of the king's mistress; opposed to governing it by means of the king's wife.

Caroline heard him with decent and civil patience until he had gone through his list of private grievances, and began to meddle with matters personal to herself and the royal hearth,—if I may use such a term. She then burst forth, and she was superb in her rebuke,—superb in its matter and manner,—superb in her dignity and in the severity with which she crushed Lord Stair beneath her fiery sarcasms and her withering contempt. She ridiculed his assertions of fidelity, and told him he had become traitor to his own country, and the betrayer of his own constituents. She mocked his complacent assurances that his object was not personal, but patriotic. She professed her intense abhorrence of having the private dissensions of noblemen ripped open in her presence, and bade him learn better manners than to speak, as he had done, of "the king's servants to the king's wife."

"My conscience," said Lord Stair.

"Don't talk to me of your conscience, my lord," said Caroline, "or I shall faint." The conversation was in French, and the queen's precise words were, "Ne me parlez point de conscience, milord; vous me faites évanouir."

The Scottish lord was sadly beaten down, and he confessed his disgraceful defeat, by requesting her majesty to be good enough to keep what had passed at the interview, as a secret. He added, in French, "Madame, le roi est trompé, et vous êtes trahie,"—The king is deceived and you are betrayed. He had previously alluded to Lords Bolingbroke and Carteret, as men worthy indeed to be trusted, and who had the honor and glory of the kingdom at heart. These names, with such testimonial attached to them, especially excited the royal indignation. "Bolingbroke and Carteret!" exclaimed Caroline, "You may tell them from me, if you will, that they are men of no parts; that they are said to be two of the greatest liars in any country, and that my observation and experience confirm what is said of them."*

It will be seen from this, that the period was one when even very great people indulged in very strong terms, and that Caroline was not behind her husband in power of flinging violent epithets, when she was in the humor, and opportunity offered.

Stair reiterated his request that the incidents of the private interview should not be further spoken of. Caroline consented, and she must have felt some contempt for him as he also promised that he would keep them secret, giving knowledge thereof to no man.

"Well?" said Carteret inquiringly, as he met with Lord Stair, after this notable interview with Caroline.

"Well!" exclaimed Lord Stair, "I have staggered her!" A pigmy might as well have boasted of having staggered Thalestris and Hippolyte.

A short time subsequently, Lord Hervey was with the queen, in her apartment, purveying to her as he was wont to do, the floating news of the day. Among other things, he told her of an incident in a debate in parliament upon the army supplies. In the course of the discussion, Carteret had observed that, at the period when

* Lord Hervey.

Cardinal Mazarin was ruining France by his oppressive measures, a great man sought an audience of the queen (Anne of Austria, mother of the young King Louis XIV.,) and after explaining to her the perils of the times, ended with the remark that she was maintaining a man at the helm, who deserved to be rowing in the galleys.

Caroline immediately knew that Lord Stair had revealed what he had petitioned her to keep secret; and feeling that she was thereby exonerated from observing further silence, her majesty took the opportunity to "out with it all," as she said in not less choice French: "J'ai pris la première occasion d'égosiller tout."

Reverting to Carteret's illustration, she observed that the "great man" noticed by him was Condé, a man who never had a word to say against Mazarin, as long as the cardinal fed a rapacity which could never be satisfied. This was, in some degree, Stair's position with regard to Walpole. "Condé, in his interview with the Queen of France," observed the well-read queen of England, "had for his object to impose upon her and France, by endeavoring to persuade her that his private resentments were only a consequence of his zeal for the public service."

Lord Hervey, very gallantly and courtier-like, expressed his wish that her majesty could have been in the house to let the senate know her wisdom; or that she could have been concealed there, to have had the opportunity of saying with Agrippine,—

> Derrière une voîle, invisible, et présente,
> Je fus de ce grand corps l'âme toute puissante.

The quotation, perhaps, could not have been altogether applicable, but as Lord Hervey quoted it, and "my lord" was a man of wit, it is doubtless as well-placed as wit could make it. The queen, at all events, took it as a compliment, laughed, and declared, that often when she was with these impatient fellows, ever ready with their unreasonable remonstrances, she was tempted herself to say, with Agrippine, that she was—

> Fille, femme, et mère de vos maîtres,

a quotation less applicable even than the former, but in which

Lord Hervey detected such abundance of wit that he went into a sort of ecstasy of delight at the queen's judgment, humor, knowledge and ability.

When the Excise bill was for the first time brought before the house, the debate lasted till one in the morning. Lord Hervey, during the evening, wrote an account of its progress to the king and queen; and when he repaired to the palace at the conclusion of the discussion, the king kept him in the queen's bed-chamber, talking over the scene, till three o'clock in the morning, and never for a moment remembered that the hungry intelligencer had not dined since the yesterday.

When the clamor against the bill rose to such a pitch that all England, the army included, seemed ready to rise against it, Walpole offered himself as a personal sacrifice, if the service and interests of the king would be promoted by his surrender of office and power. It is again illustrative of the influence of Caroline that this offer was made to her and not to the king. He was in truth the queen's minister; and nobly she stood by him. When Walpole made the offer in question, Caroline declared that she would not be so mean, so cowardly, or so ungrateful as to abandon him; and she infused the same spirit into the king. The latter had intended, from the first, to reign and govern, and be effectively his own minister; but Caroline so wrought upon him, that he thought he had of himself reached the conviction that it was necessary for him to trust in a minister, and that Walpole was the fittest man for such an office. And so he grew to love the very man whom he had been wont to hold in his heart's extremest hate. He would even occasionally speak of him as "a noble fellow," and, with tears in his eyes, he would listen to an account of some courageous stand Walpole had made in the house against the enemies of the government, and he would add the while a running commentary of sobs.

The queen's greatest triumph was this overcoming of her husband's personal hatred for Walpole. It could not have been an achievement easy to be accomplished. But her art in effecting such achievements was supreme, and she alone could turn to her own purpose the caprices of a hot-headed man, of whom it has

been said, that he was of iron obstinacy, but that he was unlike iron in this, that the hotter he became, the more impossible it was to bend him. Caroline found him pliant when she found him cool. But then, too, he was most wary, and it was necessary so to act, as to cause every turn which she compelled him to make, appear to himself as if it were the result of his own unbiassed volition.

Supremely able as Caroline was, she could not, however, always conceal her emotion. Thus, at this very period of the agitation of the Excise bill, on being told, at one of her evening drawing-rooms, of the difficulties and dangers which beset the path of the government, she burst into tears, became unusually excited, and finally affecting, and perhaps feeling, headache and vapors, she broke up her quadrille party, and betrayed in her outward manner an apparent conviction of impending calamity. She evinced the same weakness on being told, on a subsequent evening, that Walpole was in a majority of only seventeen. Such a small majority she felt was a defeat; and, on this occasion, she again burst into tears, and for the first time expressed a fear that the court *must* give way! The sovereign was, at the same time, as strong within her as the woman; and when she heard of the subordinate holders of government posts voting against the minister, or declining to vote with him, she bitterly denounced them, exclaiming, that they who refused to march with their leader were as guilty as they who openly deserted, and that both merited condign punishment.*

The king on this occasion was as excited as his consort, but he manifested his feelings in a different way. He made Lord Hervey repeat the names of those who thwarted the views of the crown, and he grunted forth an angry commentary at each name. "Lord John Cavendish," began Hervey. "*A fool!*" snorted the king. "Lord Charles Cavendish." "*Half mad!*" "Sir William Lowther." "*A whimsical fellow!*" "Sir Thomas Prendergast." "*An Irish blockhead!*" "Lord Tyrconnell." "*A puppy,*" said George, "who never votes twice on *the same side!*"

On the other hand, the populace made *their* comment on the

* Lord Hervey.

proceedings of the court. It was rendered in a highly popular way, and with much significancy. In the city of London, for instance, the mob hung in effigy Sir Robert Walpole and a *fat woman.* The male figure was duly ticketed. The female effigy was well understood to mean the queen.

Her power would, after all, not have followed, in its fall, that of Walpole. Lord Hervey remarks, that had he retired, Caroline would have placed before the king the names of a new ministry, and that the administration would not have hung together a moment after it had outlived her liking. .

In the meantime, her indefatigability was great. At the suggestion, it is supposed, of Walpole, she sent for the Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Hoadly, who repaired to the interview with his weak person and stately independence, if one may so speak, upheld by his "crutched stick." His power must have been considered very great, and so must his caprice; for he was frequently sent for by Caroline, remonstrated with for supposed rebellion, or urged to exert all his good offices in support of the crown. It is difficult to believe that the lengthy speeches reported by Hervey were actually delivered by queen and bishop. There is nothing longer in Livy, and we are not told that any one took them down. Substantially, however, they may be true. The queen was insinuating, complimentary, suggestive and audacious; the bishop all duty, submission and promise,—as far as his consistency and principles could be engaged. But, after all, the immense mountain of anxiety and stratagem was reared in vain, for Walpole withdrew his bill, and Caroline felt that England was but nominally a monarchy.

CHAPTER IV.

FAMILY AND NATIONAL QUARRELS.

THE year 1734 was marked by the retirement from court of the lady whom it was the fashion to call the queen's rival. Mrs. Howard, on becoming Countess of Suffolk, by the accession of her husband to the earldom, in 1731, had been raised to the office of mistress of the robes to the queen. Her husband died two years subsequently; and, shortly after, the king's widowed favorite was sought in marriage by another suitor.

Her departure from court was doubtless principally caused by this new prospect of a happier life. It may have been accelerated by other circumstances. Lord Chesterfield, angry with the queen for forgetting to exert her promised influence for him in obtaining some favor, applied to Lady Suffolk, and informed the queen of the course he had taken. Caroline thereon told the king that she had had some petition to present on Lord Chesterfield's behalf, but that as he had intrusted it to Lady Suffolk's presenting, her own influence would probably be unavailing. The king, fired at the implied affront to his consort, treated his old mistress, now nearly half a century in years, with such severity, that she begged to be permitted to withdraw. Such is the "legend," and probably some approximation to the truth is to be made out of the various details. Certain it is that Lady Suffolk brought her long career at court to a close in this year, previous to her marriage with the Honorable George Berkely, younger son of the second Earl of Berkely. He was Master of St. Catherine's in the Tower, and had served in two parliaments as member for Dover. Horace Walpole, who knew Lady Suffolk intimately when she was residing at Marble Hill, Twickenham, and he at Strawberry Hill, says

of her, that she was what may be summed up in the word "lady-like." She was of a good height, well made, extremely fair, with the finest light-brown hair, was remarkably genteel, and was always dressed with taste and simplicity. These were her personal charms, he adds, "for her face was regular and agreeable rather than beautiful, and those charms she retained, with little diminution, to her death, at the age of seventy-nine" (in July, 1767). He does not speak highly of her mental qualifications, but states that she was grave, and mild of character, had a strict love of truth, and was rather apt to be circumstantial upon trifles. The years of her life, after her withdrawal from court, were passed in a decent, dignified, and "respectable" manner, and won for her a consideration which her earlier career had certainly not merited.

The queen's influence was ever stronger than the favorite's credit. "Except a barony, a red riband, and a good place for her brother, Sir John Hobart, Earl of Buckinghamshire, Lady Suffolk could succeed but in very subordinate recommendations. Her own acquisitions were so moderate, that besides Marble Hill, which cost the king ten or twelve thousand pounds, her complaisance had not been too dearly purchased. She left the court with an income so little to be envied, that though an economist, and not expensive, by the lapse of some annuities on lives not so prolonged as her own, she found herself straitened, and, besides Marble Hill, did not at most leave twenty thousand pounds to her family. On quitting court, she married Mr. George Berkely, and outlived him." *

It is not certain how far Caroline's influence was exercised in the removal of Lady Suffolk, whom the queen, according to some authors, requested to continue some time longer in her office of mistress of the robes. Nor is it important to ascertain. Caroline had higher duties to perform. She continued to serve her husband well, and she showed her opinion of her son, the Prince of Wales, by her conduct to him on more than one occasion. Thus, on New Year's Day the prince attended his royal sire's levee, not with any idea of paying his father the slightest measure of respect, but, sus-

* Walpole.

pecting that the king would not speak to him, to show the people with what contempt the homage of a dutiful son was met by a stern parent;—when Caroline heard of the design, she simply persuaded the king to address his son kindly in public. This advice was followed, and the filial plot accordingly failed.

The queen was as resolute in supporting the king against being driven into settling a permanent income upon the prince. She spoke of the latter as an extravagant and unprincipled fool, only less ignorant than those who were idiots enough to give opinions upon what they could not understand. "He costs the king 50,000*l.* a-year, and till he is married, that may really be called a reasonable allowance." She stigmatized him as a "poor creature," easily led away, but not naturally bad-hearted. His seducers she treated as knaves, fools, and monsters. To the suggestion that a fixed allowance, even if it should be less than what the king paid out for him every year, would be better than the present plan, Caroline only replied that the king thought otherwise, and so the matter rested.

The tact of the queen was further displayed in the course adopted by her on an occasion of some delicacy. Lord Stair had been deprived of his regiment for attempting to bring in a law whereby the commissions of officers should be secured to them for life. The king said he would not allow him to keep by favor what he had endeavored to keep by force. Thereupon Lord Stair addressed a private letter to the queen, through her lord-chamberlain, stuffed with prophetic warnings against the machinations of France and the designs of Walpole.

Caroline, on becoming acquainted with the contents of the epistle, rated her chamberlain soundly, and bade him take it instantly to Sir Robert Walpole, with a request to the latter to lay it before the king. She thus "very dexterously avoided the danger of concealing such a letter from the king, or giving Sir Robert Walpole any cause of jealousy from showing it." His majesty very sententiously observed upon the letter, that Lord Stair "was a puppy for writing it, and the lord-chamberlain a fool for bringing it." The good chamberlain was a fool for other reasons also. He had no more rational power than a vegetable, and his solitary political

sentiment was to this effect, and wrapped up in very bad English: "I hate the French, and I hope as we shall beat the French." *

The times were growing warlike, and it was on the occasion of the Prince of Orange going to the camp of Prince Eugene, that the Princess Anne returned to England. She was as arrogant and as boldly spoken as ever. In the latter respect she manifested much of the spirit of her mother. During her stay at court, the news of the surrender of Phillipsburg reached this country. Her highness's remark thereon, in especial reference to her royal father, is worth quoting. It was addressed to Lord Hervey, who was leading the princess to her own apartment after the drawing-room. "Was there ever anything so unaccountable," she said, shrugging up her shoulders, "as the temper of papa? He has been snapping and snubbing every mortal for this week, because he began to think Phillipsburg would be taken; and this very day, that he actually hears it is taken, he is in as good humor as I ever saw him in my life. To tell you the truth," she added, in French, "I find that so whimsical, and (between ourselves) so utterly foolish, that I am more enraged by his good, than I was before by his bad, humor."

"Perhaps," answered Lord Hervey, "he may be about Phillipsburg as David was about the child, who, whilst it was sick, fasted, lay upon the earth, and covered himself with ashes, but the moment it was dead, got up, shaved his beard, and drank wine." "It may be like David," said the princess-royal, "but I am sure it is not like Solomon."

It was hardly the time for Solomons. Lord Chancellor King was a man of the people, who, by talent, integrity, and perseverance, rose to the highest rank to which a lawyer can work his way. He lost his popularity almost as soon as he acquired the seals, and these he was ultimately compelled, from growing imbecility of mind, to resign. He was the most dilatory in rendering judgments of all our chancellors, and would never willingly have decided a question, for fear he should decide it incorrectly. This characteristic, joined to the fact of his having published a history of the

* Lord Hervey.

Apostles' Creed, extorted from Caroline the smart saying, that "He was just in the law what he had formerly been in the Gospel, making creeds upon the one without any steady belief, and judgments in the other without any settled opinion. But the misfortune for the public is," said Caroline, "that though they could reject his silly creeds, they are forced often to submit to his silly judgments."

The court private life of the sovereigns at this time was as dull as can well be imagined. There were two persons who shared in this life, and who were very miserably paid for their trouble. These were the Count de Roncy and his sister. They were French Protestants, who, for conscience' sake, had surrendered their all in France, and taken refuge in England. The count was created Earl of Lifford in Ireland. His sister, Lady Charlotte de Roncy, was governess to the younger children of George II. Every night in the country, and thrice a week when the king and queen were in town, this couple passed an hour or two with the king and queen before they retired to bed. During this time "the king walked about, and talked to the brother of armies, or to the sister of genealogies, while the queen knotted and yawned, till from yawning she came to nodding, and from nodding to snoring."*

This amiable pair, who had lived in England during four reigns, were in fact, and were so accounted, hard-worked, ill-paid court-drudges; too ill-paid, even, to appear decently clad; an especial reproach upon Caroline, as the lady was the governess of her children. But they were not harder worked, in one respect, than Caroline herself, who passed seven or eight hours, *tête-à-tête*, with the king, every day, "generally saying what she did not think," says Lord Hervey, "and forced, like a spider, to spin out of her own bowels, all the conversation with which the fly was taken." The king could bear neither reading nor being read to. But, for the sake of power, though it is not to be supposed that affection had not some part in influencing Caroline to undergo such heavy trial, she endured that willingly, and indeed much more than that.

At all events, she had some respect for her husband; but she

* Lord Hervey.

despised the son, who, in spite of her opinion of the natural goodness of his heart, was mean and mendacious. The prince, moreover, was weaker of understanding, and more obstinate of temper than his father. The latter, we repeat, hated him, and because of that hatred, his brother the Duke of Cumberland was promoted to public employment, and his sisters betrayed him. Had Caroline not had a contempt for him, she would have influenced the king to a very different line of conduct.

It was said of Frederick, that, from his German education, he was more of a German than an Englishman. But the bias alluded to was not stronger in him than it was in his mother.

Caroline was so much more of a German than of an English woman, that when the interests of Germany were concerned she was always ready to sacrifice the interests of England. Her daughter Anne would have had Europe deluged in blood for the mere sake of increasing her own and her husband's importance. In a general war, she thought he would come to the surface. Caroline was disinclined to go to war for the empire, only because she feared that, in the end, there might be war in England, with the English crown for the stake.

There was at this time in London a dull and proud imperial envoy, named Count Kiuski. He was haughty and impertinent in his manner of demanding succor, as his master was in requiring it, from the Dutch. Caroline rallied him on this, one day, as he was riding by the side of her carriage at a stag-hunt. She used a very homely and not a very nice illustration, to show the absurdity of losing an end by foolishly neglecting the proper means. "If a handkerchief lay before me," said she, "and I felt I had a dirty nose, my good Count Kiuski, do you think I should beckon the handkerchief to come to me, or stoop to take it up?" *

Political matters were not neglected at these hunting parties. Lord Hervey, "her child, her pupil, and her charge," who constantly rode by the side of her carriage, on a hunter which she had given him, and which could not have been of much use to him if he never quitted the side of his mistress, used to discuss politics

* Lord Hervey.

while others followed the stag. The queen, who was fourteen years older than he, used to say, "It is well I am so old, or I should be talked of because of this creature!" And indeed the intercourse was constant and familiar. He was always with her when she took breakfast, which she usually did alone, and was her chief friend and companion when the king was absent. Such familiarity gave him considerable freedom, which the queen jokingly called impertinence, and said that he indulged in that and in contradicting her because he knew that she could not live without him.

It was at a hunting party that Lord Hervey endeavored to convince her that, for England to go to war for the purpose of serving the empire, would be a disastrous course to take. He could not convince her in a long conversation, and thereupon, the chase being over, he sat down and penned a political pamphlet, which he called a letter, which was "as long as a 'President's Message,' and which he forwarded to the queen." If Caroline was not to be persuaded by it, she at least thought none the worse of the writer, who had spared no argument to support the cause in which he boldly pleaded.

We have another home scene depicted by Lord Hervey, which at once shows us an illustration of parental affection and parental indifference. The Princess Anne, after a world of delay, had reluctantly left St. James's for Holland, where her husband awaited her, and whither she went for her confinement. The last thing she thought of was the success of the opera and the triumph of Handel. She recommended both to the charge of Lord Hervey, and then went on her way to Harwich, sobbing. When she had reached Colchester, she, upon receiving some letters from her husband stating his inability to be at the Hague so soon as he expected, returned suddenly to Kensington.

In the meantime, in the palace at the latter place Lord Hervey found the queen and the gentle Princess Caroline sitting together, drinking chocolate, shedding tears, and sobbing, all at the absence of the imperious Lady Anne. The trio had just succeeded in banishing melancholy remembrances by launching into cheerful conversation, when the gallery door was suddenly opened, and the queen rose, exclaiming, "The king here already!" When, how-

ever, she saw that, instead of the king, it was only the Prince of Wales, and "detesting the exchange of the son for the daughter," she burst out anew into tears, and cried out, "Oh, God, this is too much." She was only relieved by the entry of the king, who perceiving, but not speaking to his son, took the queen by the hand and led her out to walk.

This "cut direct," by affecting to be unconscious of the presence of the obnoxious person, was a habit with the king. "Whenever the prince was in a room with him," says Lord Hervey, "it put one in mind of stories that one has heard of ghosts that appear to part of the company and were invisible to the rest; and in this manner, wherever the prince stood, though the king passed him ever so often, or ever so near, it always seemed as if the king thought the prince filled a void space."

On the following day, the 22nd of October, the Princess Anne suddenly appeared before her parents. They thought her at Harwich, or on the seas, the wind being fair. Tears and kisses were her welcome from her mother, and smiles and an embrace formed the greeting from her father. The return was ill-advised, but the queen, with a growing conviction of decaying health, could not be displeased at seeing again her first child.

The health of Caroline was undoubtedly at this time much impaired, but the king allowed her scant respite from labor on that account. Thus on the 29th of this month, although the queen was laboring under cold, cough, and symptoms of fever, in addition to having been weakened by loss of blood, a process she had recently undergone twice, the king not only brought her from Kensington to London, for the birthday, but forced her to go with him to the opera to hear the inimitable Farinelli. He himself thought so little of illness, or liked so little to be thought ill, that he would rise from a sick couch to proceed to hold a levee, which was no sooner concluded than he would immediately betake himself to bed again. His affection for the queen was not so great but that he compelled the same sacrifices from her, and on the occasion of this birthday, at the morning drawing-room, she found herself so near swooning, that she was obliged to send her chamber-maid to the king, begging him to retire, "for that she was unable to stand any

longer." Notwithstanding which, we are told by Lord Hervey, that "at night he brought her into a still greater crowd at the ball, and there kept her till eleven o'clock."

Sir Robert Walpole frequently, and never more urgently than at this time, impressed upon her the necessity of being careful of her own health. He addressed her as though she had been Queen Regnant of England,—as she certainly was governing sovereign,—and he described to her in such pathetic terms the dangers which England would, and Europe might, incur, if any fatal accident deprived her of life, and the king were to fall under the influence of any other woman, that the poor queen, complaining and coughing, with head heavy, and aching eyes half closed with pain, cheeks flushed, pulse quick, spirits low, and breathing oppressed, burst into tears, alarmed at the picture, and with every disposition to do her utmost for the benefit of her health, and the well-being of the body politic.

It was the opinion of Caroline, that in case of her demise the king would undoubtedly marry again, and she had often advised him to take such a step. She affected, however, to believe that a second wife would not be able to influence him to act contrary to the system which he had adopted through the influence of herself and Walpole.

It was during the sojourn of the Princess Anne in England that she heard the details of the withdrawal of Lady Suffolk from court. Everybody appeared to be rejoiced at that lady's downfall, but most of all the Princess Anne. The king thought that of all the children of himself and Caroline, Anne loved him best. This dutiful daughter, however, despised him, and treated him as an insufferable bore, who always required novelty in conversation from others, but never told anything new of his own. In allusion to the withdrawal of Lady Suffolk from court, this amiable child remarked, "I wish with all my heart he would take somebody else, that mamma might be a little relieved from the occasion of seeing him for ever in her room!"

In November, the Princess Anne once more proceeded to Harwich, put to sea, and was so annoyed by the usual inconveniences that she compelled the captain to land her again. She declared

that she should not be well enough for ten days to once more go a-board. This caused great confusion. Her father, and indeed the queen also, insisted on her repairing to Holland, by way of Calais, as her husband had thoughtfully suggested. She was compelled to pass through London, much to the king's annoyance, but he declared that she should not stop, but proceed at once over London Bridge to Dover. He added that she should never again come to England, in the same condition of health. His threat was partly founded on the expense, her visit having cost him 20,000*l.* Her reluctance to proceed to her husband's native country was founded, it has been suggested, on her own ambitious ideas. Her brothers were unmarried, and she was anxious, it is thought, that her own child should be English born, as it would stand in the line of inheritance to the throne. However this may be, the queen saw the false step the daughter had already taken, and insisted on the wishes of her husband, the prince, being attended to; and so the poor foiled Anne went home to become a mother, very much against her will.

The Princess Amelia observed to Mrs. Clayton, the queen's bedchamber-woman, that her brother, Prince Frederick, would have been displeased if the accouchement of the princess had taken place in England. To this, Mrs. Clayton, as Lord Hervey observes, very justly remarked, "I cannot imagine, madam, how it can affect the prince at all where she lies-in; since with regard to those who wish more of your royal highness's family on the throne, it is no matter whether she be brought to bed here or in Holland, or of a son or a daughter, or whether she has any child at all; and with regard to those who wish all your family well, for your sake, madam, as well as our own, we shall be very glad to take any of you in your turn, but none of you out of it."

But the queen had other business this year wherewith to occupy her than royal marriages, or filial indispositions. In some of these matters her sincerity is sadly called in question. Here is an instance.

In 1734, the Bishop of Winchester was stricken with apoplexy, and Lord Hervey no sooner was aware of that significant fact—it was a mortal attack—than he wrote to Hoadly at Salisbury, urging

him in the strongest terms to make application to be promoted from Sarum to the almost vacant see.

This promotion had been promised him by the king, queen, and Walpole, all of whom joined in blandly reproving the bishop for being silent when Durham was vacant, whereby alone he lost that golden appointment. He had served government so well, and yet had contrived to maintain most of his usual popularity with the public, that he had been told to look upon Winchester as his own, whenever an opening occurred.

Hoadly was simple enough to believe that the queen and Walpole were really sincere. Lord Hervey judged most correctly. He addressed an urgent letter then to the Bishop of Salisbury, counselling him to apply immediately to the king through his "two ears"—the queen and Walpole; and to write as if he were sure of being promoted, according to engagement, while, at the same time, he was directed to act as if he were sure of nothing.

Caroline called the bishop's letter indelicate, hasty, ill-timed, and such like, but Hoadly so well obeyed the instructions given to him that there was no room for escape, and he received the appointment. When he went to kiss hands upon his elevation, the king was the only one who behaved with common honesty. He, and Caroline too, disliked the man, whom the latter affected a delight to honor, for the reason that his respect for royalty was not so great as to blind him to popular rights, which he supported with much earnestness. On his reception by the king, the latter treated him with disgraceful incivility, exactly in accordance with his feelings. Caroline did violence to hers, and gave him honeyed words, and showered congratulations upon him, and pelted him, as it were, with compliments and candied courtesy. As for Sir Robert Walpole, who hated Hoadly as much as his royal mistress and her consort did together, he took the new Bishop of Winchester aside, and warmly pressing his hand, assured him, without a blush, that his translation from Sarum to Winchester, was entirely owing to the mediation of himself, Sir Robert. It was a daring assertion, and Sir Robert would have hardly ventured upon making it, had he known the share Lord Hervey had had in this little ecclesiasti-

cal intrigue. Hoadly was not deluded by Walpole, but he was the perfect dupe of the queen.

Lord Mahon,* in speaking of Caroline, says that "her character was without a blemish." Compared with many around her, perhaps it was; but if the face had not spots it had "patches," which looked very much like them. On this matter, the noble lord appears to admit that some doubt may exist, and he subsequently adds: "But no doubt can exist as to her discerning and most praiseworthy patronage of worth and learning in the church. The most able and pious men were everywhere sought and preferred, and the episcopal bench was graced by such men as Hare, Sherlock, and Butler." Of course, Queen Caroline's dislike of Hoadly may be set down as founded upon that prelate's alleged want of orthodoxy. It has been noticed in another page, that, according to Walpole, the queen had rather weakened than enlightened her faith by her study of divinity, and that her majesty herself "was at best not orthodox." Her countenance of the "less-believing" clergy, is said, upon the same authority, to have been the effect of the influence of Lady Sundon, who "espoused the heterodox clergy."

Lord Mahon also says that the queen was distinguished for charity towards those whom she accounted her enemies. She could nurse her rage, however, a good while to keep it warm. Witness her feeling manifested against that daughter of Lord Portland who married Mr. Godolphin. Her hatred of this lady was irreconcilable, nor was the king's of a more christian quality. That lady's sole offence, however, was her acceptance of the office "of governess to their daughter in the late reign, without their consent, at the time they had been turned out of St. James's, and the education of their children, who were kept there, taken from them." † For this offence, the king and queen were very unwilling to confer a peerage and pension on Godolphin, in 1735, when he resigned his office of groom of the stole in the royal household. The peerage and pension were nevertheless, ultimately conferred at the earnest solicitation of Walpole, and with great ill-humor on the part of the king.

* Now, Earl Stanhope. † Lord Hervey.

Even Walpole, with all his power and influence, was not at this time so powerful and influential but that when he was crossed in parliament, he suffered for it at court. Thus when the crown lost several supporters in the house by adverse decisions on election petitions, the king was annoyed, and the queen gave expression to her own anger on the occasion. It was rare indeed that she ever spoke her dissatisfaction of Sir Robert, but on the occasion in question, she is reported as having said that Sir Robert Walpole either neglected these things, and judged it enough to think they were trifles, though in government, and especially in this country, nothing was a trifle, "or, perhaps," she said, "there is some mismanagement I know nothing of, or some circumstances we are none of us acquainted with, but, whatever it is, to me these things seem very ill-conducted." *

The queen really thought that Walpole was on the point of having outlived his ability, and his powers to apply it for the benefit of herself and husband. She observed him melancholy, and set it down that he was mourning over his own difficulties and failures. When Caroline, however, was told that Sir Robert was not in sorrow because of the difficulties of government, but simply because his mistress, Miss Skerrett, was dangerously ill of a pleuritic fever, the "unblemished queen" was glad! She rejoiced that politics had nothing to do with his grief, and she was extremely well pleased to find that the prime minister was as immoral as men of greater and less dignity. And then she took to satirizing both the prime minister and the lady of his homage. She laughed at him for believing in the attachment of a woman whose motives must be mercenary, and who could not possibly see any attraction in such a man, but through the meshes of his purse. "She must be a clever gentlewoman," said Caroline, "to have made him believe that she cares for him on any other score; and to show you what fools we all are on some point or other, she has certainly told him some fine story or other of her love, and her passion, and that poor man, with his burly body, swollen legs, and villanous stomach, ('*avec ce gros corps, jambes inflés, et ce vilain ventre*') believes her!—ah, what

* Lord Hervey.

is human nature?" On this rhapsody, Lord Hervey makes a comment in the spirit of Burns' verse—

> "Would but some god the giftie gi'e us,
> To see ourselves as others see us,"

and it was excellent opportunity for such comment. "While she was saying this," remarks the noble lord, "she little reflected in what degree she herself possessed all the impediments and antidotes to love she had been enumerating, and that, "*Ah, what is human nature!*" was applicable to her own blindness as to his!"

She certainly illustrated in her own person her assertion that in government nothing was a trifle. Thus, when what was called the Scotch Election Petition was before Parliament, and threatening to give some trouble to the ministerial side, her anxiety till the question was decided favorably to the crown side, and her affected indifference after the victory, were both marked and striking. On the morning before the petition was presented, praying the House of Lords to take into consideration certain alleged illegalities in the recent election of sixteen representative peers of Scotland,—a petition which the house ultimately dismissed,—the anxiety of Caroline was so great "to know what was said, thought or done, or expected on this occasion, that she sent for Lord Hervey while he was in bed; and because it was contrary to the queenly etiquette to admit a man to her bedside while she was in it, she kept him talking upon one side of the door, which was just upon her bed, while she conversed with him on the other, for two hours together, and then sent him to the king's side to repeat to his majesty all he had related to her." * By the *king's side* is meant, not his majesty's side of the royal couch, but the side of the palace wherein he had his separate apartments.

It was soon after this period (1735), that the king set out for Hanover, much against the inclination of his ministers, who dreaded lest he should be drawn in to conclude some engagement, when abroad, adverse to the welfare of England. His departure, however, was witnessed by Caroline with much resignation. It gave

* Lord Hervey.

her infinitely more power and more pleasure, for, as Regent, she had no superior to consult or guide, and in her husband's absence she had not the task of amusing a man who was growing as little amusable, as Louis XIV. was when Madame de Maintenon complained of her terrible toil in that way. His prospective absence of even half a year's duration did not alarm Caroline, for it released her from receiving the quotidian sallies of a temper that, let it be charged by what hand it would, used always to discharge its hottest fire, on some pretence or other, upon her!

The queen's enjoyment, however, was somewhat dashed by information conveyed to her by that very husband, and by which she learned that the royal rebrobate, having become smitten by the attractions of a young married German lady, named Walmoden, had had the rascality to induce her to leave her husband,—a course which she had readily adopted for the small consideration of a thousand ducats.

Not the smallest incident which marked the progress of this infamous connection was concealed by the husband from his wife. He wrote at length minute details of the person of the new mistress, for whom he bespoke the love of his own wife!

Lord Hervey thinks that the pride of the queen was much more hurt than her affections, on this occasion; which is not improbable, for the reasoning public, to whom the affair soon became known, at once concluded that the rise of the new mistress would be attended with the downfall of the influence of Caroline.

The latter, however, knew well how to maintain her influence, let who would be the object of the impure homage of her exceedingly worthless husband. To the letters which he addressed to her with particular unction, she replied with an unction quite as rich in quality and profuse in degree. Pure and dignified as she might seem in discoursing with divines, listening to philosophers, receiving the metrical tributes of poets, or cavilling with scholars, she had no objection to descend from Olympus and find relaxation in wallowing in Epicurus' stye. Nor did she thus condescend, merely to suit a purpose and to gain an end. Her letters, encouraging her husband in his amours with women at Hanover, were coarse enough to have called up a blush on the cheek of one of

Congreve's waiting-maids. They have the poor excuse tied to them of having been written for the purpose of securing her own power. The same apology does not apply to the correspondence with the *dirty* Duchess of Orleans. Caroline appears to have indulged in the details of that correspondence for the sake of the mere pleasure itself. And yet she has been called a woman without blemish!

The king's letters to her are said to have extended to sixty, and never to less than forty pages. They were filled, says Lord Hervey, "with an hourly account of everything he saw, heard, thought, or did, and crammed with minute trifling circumstances, not only unworthy of a man to write, but even of a woman to read; most of which I saw, and almost all of them I heard reported by Sir Robert Walpole, to whose perusal few were not committed, and many passages were transmitted to him by the king's own order; who used to tag several paragraphs with '*Montrez ceci et consultez ladessus le gros homme.*' Among many extraordinary things and expressions these letters contained, there was one in which he desired the queen to contrive, if she could, that the Prince of Modena, who was to come the latter end of the year to England, might bring his wife with him." She was the younger daughter of the Regent Duke of Orleans. The reasons which the king gave to his wife for the request which he had made with respect to this lady was, that he had understood the latter was by no means particular as to what quarter or person she received homage from, and he had the greatest inclination imaginable to pay his addresses to a daughter of the late Regent of France. "Un plaisir," he said,—for this German husband wrote even to his German wife in French,—"que je suis sûr, ma chère Caroline, vous serez bien aise de me procurer, quand je vous dis combien je le souhaite!" If Wycherly had placed such an incident as this in a comedy, he would have been censured as offending equally against modesty and propriety.

In the summer of this year, Lord Hervey was absent for a while from attendance on his royal mistress, but we may perhaps learn from one of his letters addressed to her, while he was resting in the country from his light labors, the nature of his office, and the

way in which Caroline was served. The narrative is given by the writer as part of an imaginary post-obit diary, in which he describes himself as having died on the day he left her, and as having been repeatedly buried in the various dull country-houses, by whose proprietors he was hospitably received. He thus proceeds:—

"But whilst my body, madam, was thus disposed of, my spirit (as when alive,) was still hovering, though invisible, round your majesty, anxious for your welfare, and watching to do you any little service that lay within my power.

"On Monday, whilst you walked, my *shade* still turned on the side of the sun to guard you from its beams.

"On Tuesday morning, at breakfast, I brushed away a fly that had escaped Teed's observation" (Teed was one of the queen's attendants) "and was just going to be the taster of your chocolate.

"On Wednesday, in the afternoon, I took off the chillness of some strawberry-water, your majesty was going to drink, as you came in hot from walking; and at night I hunted a bat out of your bed-chamber, and shut a sash just as you fell asleep, which your majesty had a little indiscreetly ordered Mrs. Purcel to leave open.

"On Thursday, in the drawing-room, I took the forms and voices of several of my acquaintances, made strange faces, put myself into awkward postures, and talked a good deal of nonsense, whilst your majesty entertained me very gravely, *recommended* me very graciously, and laughed at me internally very heartily.

"On Friday, being post-day, I proposed to get the best pen in the other world, for your majesty's use, and slip it invisibly into your standish, just as Mr. Shaw was bringing it into your gallery for you to write; and accordingly I went to *Voiture*, and desired him to hand me his pen; but when I told him for whom it was designed, he only laughed at me for a blockhead, and asked me if I had been at court for four years to so little purpose as not to know that your majesty had a much better of your own.

"On Saturday, I went on the shaft of your majesty's chaise to Richmond; as you walked there I went before you, and with an invisible wand I brushed the dew and the worms out of your path

all the way, and several times uncrumpled your majesty's stocking.

"Sunday.—This very day, at chapel, I did your majesty some service, by tearing six leaves out of the parson's sermon, and shortening his discourse six minutes."

While these imaginary services were being rendered by the visionary Lord Hervey to the queen, realities more serious and not less amusing were claiming the attention of Caroline and her consort.

In return for the information communicated by the king to the queen on the subject of Madame Walmoden and her charms, Caroline had to inform her husband of the marriage we have spoken of, between Lady Suffolk and Mr. George Berkeley. The royal ex-lover noticed the communication in his reply, in a coarse way, and expressed his entire satisfaction at being rid of the lady, and at the lady's disposal of herself.

When Caroline informed her vice-chamberlain, Lord Hervey, of the report of this marriage, his alleged disbelief of the report made her peevish with him, and induced her to call him an "obstinate devil," who would not believe merely improbable facts to be truths. Caroline then railed at her in good set terms as a sayer and doer of silly things, entirely unworthy of the reputation she had with some people of being the sayer and doer of wise ones.

It was on this occasion that Caroline herself described to Lord Hervey the farewell interview she had had with Lady Suffolk. The ex-mistress took a sentimental view of her position, and lamented to the wife that she, the mistress, was no longer so kindly treated as formerly by the husband. "I told her," said the queen, "in reply, that she and I were not of an age to think of these sort of things in such a romantic way, and said, 'My good Lady Suffolk, you are the best servant in the world, and as I should be most extremely sorry to lose you, pray take a week to consider of this business, and give me your word not to read any romances in that time, and then I dare say you will lay aside all thoughts of doing what, believe me, you will repent, and what I am very sure I shall be very sorry for.'" * It was at one of these conversations

* Lord Hervey.

with Lord Hervey that the queen told him that Lady Suffolk "had had 2,000*l.* a year constantly from the king whilst he was prince, and 3,200*l.* ever since he was king; besides several little dabs of money both before and since he came to the crown."

A letter of Lady Pomfret's will serve to show us not only a picture of the queen at this time, but an illustration of feeling in a fine lady.

Lady Pomfret, writing to Lady Sundon, in 1735, says:—"All I can say of Kensington is, that it is just the same it was, only pared as close as the Bishop does the Sacrament. My Lord Pomfret and I were the greatest strangers there; no secretary of state, no chamberlain or vice-chamberlain, but Lord Robert, and he just in the same coat, the same spot of ground, and the same words in his mouth, that he had when I left there. Mrs. Meadows in the window at work; but, though half an hour after two, the queen was not quite dressed, so that I had the honor of seeing her before she came out of her little blue room, where I was graciously received, and acquainted her majesty, to her great sorrow, how ill you had been, and then, to alleviate that sorrow, I informed her how much Sundon was altered for the better, and that it looked like a castle. From thence we proceeded to a very short drawing-room, where the queen joked much with my Lord Pomfret about Barbadoes. The two ladies of the bedchamber and the governess are yet on so bad a foot, that upon the latter coming into the room to dine with Lady Bristol, the others went away, though just going to sit down, and strangers in the place."

The writer of this letter soon after lost a son, the Honorable Thomas Fermor. It was a severely felt loss; *so* severe, that some weeks elapsed before the disconsolate mother was able, as she says, "to enjoy the kind and obliging concern" expressed by the queen's bedchamber-woman in her late misfortune. Christianity itself, as this charming mother averred, would have authorized her in lamenting such a calamity during the remainder of her life, but then, Oh joy! her maternal lamentation was put an end to and Rachel was comforted, and all because—"It was impossible for any behavior to be more gracious than that of the queen on this

occasion, who made it *quite fashionable* to be concerned" at the death of Lady Pomfret's son.

But there were more bustling scenes at Kensington than such as those described by this fashionably sorrowing lady and the sympathizing sovereign.

On Sunday, the 26th of October, the queen and her court had just left the little chapel in the palace of Kensington, when intimation was given to her majesty that the king, who had left Hanover on the previous Wednesday, was approaching the gate. Caroline, at the head of her ladies and the gentlemen of her suite, hastened down to receive him; and as he alighted from his ponderous coach, she took his hand and kissed it. This ceremony performed by the Regent, a very unceremonious, hearty, and honest kiss was impressed on his lips by the wife. The king endured the latter without emotion, and then, taking the queen-regent by the fingers, he led her up-stairs in a very stately and formal manner. In the gallery there was a grand presentation, at which his majesty exhibited much ill-humor, and conversed with everybody but the queen.

His ill-humor arose from various sources. He had heated himself by rapid and continual travelling, whereby he had brought on an attack of a complaint to which he was subject, which made him very ill at ease, and which is irritating enough to break down the patience of the most patient of people.

On ordinary occasions of his return from Hanover, his most sacred majesty was generally of as sour disposition as a man so little heroic could well be. He loved the electorate better than he did his kingdom, and would not allow that there was anything in the latter which could not be found in Hanover of a superior quality. There was no exception to this; men, women, artists, philosophers, actors, citizens, the virtues, the sciences, and the wits, the country, its natural beauties and productions, the courage of the men and the attractions of the women—all of these in England seemed to him worthless. In Hanover they assumed the guise of perfection.

This time, he returned to his "old" wife laden with a fresh sorrow, the memory of a new favorite. He had left his heart with the insinuating Walmoden, and he brought to his superb Caroline nothing but a tribute of ill-humor and spite. He hated more than

ever the change from an electorate where he was so delightfully despotic, to a country where he was only chief magistrate, and where the people, through their representatives, kept a very sharp watch upon him in the execution of his duties. He was accordingly as coarse and evilly-disposed towards the circle of his court as he was to her who was the centre of it. He, too, was like one of those pantomime potentates who are for ever in King Cambyses' vein, and who sweep through the scene in a whirlwind of farcically furious words and of violent acts, or of threats almost as bad as if the menaces had been actually realized. It was observed that his behavior to Caroline had never been so little tinged with outward respect as now. She bore his humor with admirable patience; and her quiet endurance only the more provoked the petulance of the little and worthless king.

He was not only ill-tempered with the mistress of the palace, but was made, or chose to think himself, especially angry at trifling improvements which Caroline had carried into effect in the suburban palace during the temporary absence of its master. The improvements consisted chiefly in removing some worthless pictures and indifferent statues, and placing masterpieces in their stead. The king would have all restored to the condition all was in when he had last left the palace; and he treated Lord Hervey as a fool for venturing to defend the queen's taste and the changes which had followed the exercise of it. "I suppose," said the dignified king to the courteous vice-chamberlain, "I suppose you assisted the queen with your fine advice when she was pulling my house to pieces, and spoiling all my furniture. Thank God! at least she has left the walls standing!"

Lord Hervey asked if he would not allow the two Vandykes which the queen had substituted for "two sign-posts," to remain. George pettishly answered, that he didn't care whether they were changed or no; "but," he added, "but, for the picture with the dirty frame over the door, and the three nasty little children, I will have them taken away, and the old ones restored. I will have it done, too, to-morrow morning, before I go to London, or else I know it will not be done at all."

Lord Hervey next inquired if his majesty would also have "his

gigantic fat Venus restored, too?" The king replied that he would, for he liked his fat Venus better than anything that had been put in its place. Upon this, Lord Hervey says *he* fell to thinking, that "if his majesty had liked his *fat Venus* as well as he used to do, there would have been none of these disputations."

By a night's calm repose, the ill humor of the sovereign was not dispersed. On the following morning, we meet with the insufferable little man in the gallery, where the queen and her daughters were taking chocolate; her son, the Duke of Cumberland, standing by. He only stayed five minutes, but in that short time the husband and father contrived to wound the feelings of his wife and children. "He snubbed the queen, who was drinking chocolate, for being always stuffing; the Princess Amelia for not hearing him; the Princess Caroline for being grown fat; the Duke of Cumberland for standing awkwardly; and then he carried the queen out to walk, to be re-snubbed in the garden."*

Sir Robert Walpole told his friend Hervey that he had done his utmost to prepare the queen for this change in the king's feelings and actions towards her. He reminded her that her personal attractions were not what they had been, and he counselled her to depend more upon her intellectual superiority than ever. The virtuous man advised her to secure the good temper of the king by throwing certain ladies in his way of an evening. Sir Robert mentioned, among others, Lady Tankerville, "a very safe fool, who would give the king some amusement without giving her majesty any trouble." Lady Deloraine, the *Delia* from whose rage Pope bade his readers dread slander and poison, had already attracted the royal notice, and the king liked to play cards with her in his daughters' apartments. This lady, who had the loosest tongue of the least modest women about the court, was characterized by Walpole as likely to exercise a dangerous influence over the king. If Caroline would retain her power, he insinuated, she must select her husband's favorites, through whom she might still reign supreme.

Caroline is said to have taken this advice in good part. There

* Lord Hervey.

would be difficulty in believing that it ever was given, did we not know that the queen herself could joke, not very delicately, in full court, on her position as a woman not first in her husband's regard. Sir Robert would comment on these jokes in the same locality, and with increase of coarseness. The queen, however, though she affected to laugh, was both hurt and displeased—hurt by the joke, and displeased with the joker, of whom Swift has said, that—

> By favor and fortune fastidiously blest,
> He was loud in his laugh and was coarse in his jest.

In spite of the king's increased ill-temper towards the queen, and in spite of what Sir Robert Walpole thought and said upon that delicate subject, Lord Hervey maintains that at this very time the king's heart, as affected towards the queen, was not less warm than his temper. The facts which are detailed by the gentle official immediately after he has made this assertion, go strongly to disprove the latter. The detail involves a rather long extract, but its interest, and the elaborate minuteness with which this picture of a royal interior is painted, will doubtless be considered ample excuse, or warrant rather, for reproducing the passages. Lord Hervey was eye and ear-witness of what he here so well describes :—

"About nine o'clock every night, the king used to return to the queen's apartment from that of his daughters, where, from the time of Lady Suffolk's disgrace, he used to pass those evenings he did not go to the opera or play at quadrille, constraining them, tiring himself, and talking a little indecently to Lady Deloraine, who was always of the party.

"At his return to the queen's side, the queen used often to send for Lord Hervey to entertain them till they retired, which was generally at eleven. One evening, among the rest, as soon as Lord Hervey came into the room, the queen, who was knotting, while the king walked backward and forwards, began jocosely to attack Lord Hervey upon an answer just published to a book of his friend Bishop Hoadly's on the sacrament, in which the bishop was very ill treated; but before she had uttered half what she had a mind to say, the king interrupted her, and told her she always

loved talking of such nonsense, and things she knew nothing of; adding, that if it were not for such foolish people loving to talk of these things when they were written, the fools who wrote upon them would never think of publishing their nonsense, and disturbing the government with impertinent disputes, that nobody of any sense ever troubled himself about. The queen bowed, and said, 'Sir, I only did it to let Lord Hervey know that his friend's book had not met with that general approbation he had pretended.' 'A pretty fellow for a friend!' said the king, turning to Lord Hervey. 'Pray, what is it that charms you in him? His pretty limping gait?' And then he acted the bishop's lameness, and entered upon some unpleasant defects which it is not necessary to repeat. The stomachs of the listeners must have been strong, if they experienced no qualm at the too graphic and nasty detail. 'Or is it,' continued the king, 'his great honesty that charms your lordship? His asking a thing of me for one man, and when he came to have it in his own power to bestow, refusing the queen to give it to the very man for whom he had asked it? Or do you admire his conscience, that makes him now put out a book that, till he was Bishop of Winchester, for fear his conscience might hurt his preferment, he kept locked up in his chest? Is his conscience so much improved beyond what it was when he was Bishop of Bangor, or Hereford, or Salisbury—for this book I fear, was written so long ago—or is it that he would not risk losing a shilling a year more, whilst there was anything better to be got than what he had? * * * * I cannot help saying, if the bishop of Winchester is your friend, that you have a great puppy, and a very dull fellow, and a very great rascal, for your friend. It is a very pretty thing for such scoundrels, when they are raised by favor above their deserts, to be talking and writing their stuff, to give trouble to the government that has shown them that favor; and very modest for a canting, hypocritical knave to be crying that *the kingdom of Christ is not of this world*, at the same time that he, as Christ's ambassador, receives 6,000*l.* or 7,000*l.* a year. But he is just the same thing in the Church that he is in the government, and as ready to receive the best pay for preaching the Bible, though he does not believe a word of it, as he is to

take favor from the Crown, though, by his republican spirit and doctrine, he would be glad to abolish its power.'"

There is something melancholily suggestive in thus hearing the temporal head of a Church accusing of rank infidelity a man whom he had raised to be an overseer and bishop of souls in that very Church. If George knew that Hoadly did not believe in Scripture, he was infinitely worse than the prelate, for the simple fact of his having made him a prelate, or having translated him from one diocese to another of more importance and more value. But, to resume—

"During the whole time the king was speaking, the queen, by smiling and nodding in proper places, endeavored all she could, but in vain, to make her court, by seeming to approve everything he said." Lord Hervey then attempted to give a pleasant turn to the conversation by remarking on prelates who were more docile towards government than Hoadly, and who, for being dull branches of episcopacy, and ignorant piecers of orthodoxy, were none the less good and quiet subjects. From the persons of the Church, the vice-chamberlain got to the fabric, and then descanted to the queen upon the newly-restored bronze gates in Henry VII.'s Chapel. This excited the king's ire anew. "My lord," said he, "you are always putting some of these fine things in the queen's head, and then I am to be plagued with a thousand plans and workmen." He grew sarcastic, too, on the queen's grotto in Richmond gardens, which was known as *Merlin's Cave*, from a statue of the great enchanter therein; and in which there was a collection of books, over which Stephen Duck, thresher, poet, and parson, had been constituted librarian. The *Craftsman* paper had attacked this plaything of the queen, and her husband was delighted at the annoyance caused to her by such an attack.

The poor queen probably thought *she* had succeeded in cleverly changing the topic of conversation by referring to and expressing disapproval of the expensive habit of giving *vails* to the servants of the house at which a person has been visiting. She remarked, that she had found it no inconsiderable expense during the past summer to visit her friends even in town. "That is your own fault," growled the king; "for my father, when he went to

people's houses in town, never was fool enough to give away his money." The queen pleaded that she only gave what her chamberlain, Lord Grantham, informed her was usual,—whereupon poor Lord Grantham came in for his full share of censure. The queen, said her consort, "was always asking some fool or another what she was to do, and that none but a fool would ask another fool's advice."

The vice-chamberlain gently hinted that liberality would be expected from a queen on such occasions as her visits at the houses of her subjects. "Then let her stay at home, as I do," said the king. "You do not see me running into every puppy's house to see his new chairs and stools." And then, turning to the queen, he added: "Nor is it for *you* to be running your nose everywhere, and to be trotting about the town, to every fellow that will give you some bread and butter, like an old girl that loves to go abroad, no matter where, or whether it be proper or no." The queen colored, and knotted a good deal faster during this speech than before; whilst the tears came into her eyes, but she said not one word. Such is the description of Lord Hervey, and it shows Caroline in a favorable light. The vice-chamberlain struck in for her, by observing that her majesty could not see private collections of pictures without going to the owners' houses, and honoring them by her presence. "Supposing," said the king, "she had a curiosity to see a tavern, would it be fit for her to satisfy it? and yet the innkeeper would be very glad to see her." The vice-chamberlain did not fail to see that this was a most illogical remark, and he very well observed in reply, that, "If the innkeepers were used to be well received by her majesty in her palace, he should think that the queen's seeing them at their own houses would give no additional scandal." As George found himself foiled by this observation, he felt only the more displeasure, and he gave vent to the last, by bursting forth into a torrent of German, which sounded like abuse, and during the outpouring of which "the queen made not one word of reply, but knotted on till she tangled her thread, then snuffed the candles that stood on the table before her, and snuffed one of them out.

Upon which the king, in English, began a new dissertation upon her majesty, and took her awkwardness for his text."*

Unmoved as Caroline appeared at this degrading scene, she felt it acutely,—but she did not wish that others should be aware of her feelings under such a visitation. Lord Hervey was aware of this; and when, on the following morning, she remarked that he had looked at her the evening before, as if he thought she had been going to cry, the courtier protested that he had neither done the one nor thought the other, but had expressly directed his eyes on another object, lest if they met hers, the comicality of the scene should have set both of them laughing.

And such scenes were of constant occurrence. The king extracted something unpleasant from his very pleasures, just as acids may be produced from sugar. Sometimes, he fell into a difficulty during the process. Thus, on one occasion,—the party were again assembled for their usual delightful evening, the queen had mentioned the name of a person whose father, she said, was known to the king. It was at the time when his majesty was most bitterly incensed against his eldest son. Caroline was on better terms with Frederick; but, as she remarked, they each knew the other too well to love or trust one another. Well, the king hearing father and son alluded to, observed, that "one very often sees fathers and sons very little alike;—a wise father has very often a fool for his son. One sees a father a very brave man, and his son a scoundrel; a father very honest, and his son a great knave; a father a man of truth, and his son a great liar; in short, a father that has all sorts of good qualities, and a son that is good for nothing." * The queen and all present betrayed, by their countenances, that they comprehended the historical parallel; whereupon the king attempted, as he thought, to make it less flagrantly applicable, by running the comparison in another sense. "Sometimes," he said, "the case was just the reverse, and that very disagreeable fathers had very agreeable men for their sons." In this case, the king, as Lord Hervey suggests, was thinking of his own father, as in the former one he had been thinking of his son.

* Lord Hervey.

But how he drew what was sour from the sweetest of his pleasures, is shown from his remarks after having been to the theatre to see Shakespeare's Henry the Fourth. He was tolerably well pleased with all the actors, save the "Prince of Wales." He had never seen, he said, so awkward a fellow, and so mean a looking scoundrel, in his life. Everybody, says Lord Hervey, who hated the actual Prince of Wales thought of him as the king here expressed himself of the player; "but all very properly pretended to understand his majesty literally, joined in the censure, and abused the theatrical Prince of Wales for a quarter of an hour together."

It may be here noticed, that Shakespeare owed some of his reputation, at this time, to the dissensions which existed between the king and his son. Had it, at least, not been for this circumstance, it is not likely that the play of Henry the Fourth would have been so often represented as it was, at the three theatres,—Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, Covent Garden, and Drury Lane. Every auditor knew how to make special application of the complainings and sorrowings of a royal sire over a somewhat profligate son; or of the unfilial speeches and hypocritical assurance of a princely heir, flung at his sovereign and impatient sire. The house in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields had the reputation of being the Tory house; and the Prince of Wales *there*, was probably represented as a proper gentleman; not out of love to *him*, but rather out of contempt to the father. It was not a house which received the favor of either Caroline or her consort. The new pieces there ran too strongly against the despotic rule of kings,—the only sort of rule for which George at all cared, and the lack of which made him constantly abusive of England, her institutions, Parliament, and public men. It is difficult to say what the real opinion of Caroline was upon this matter, for at divers times we find her uttering opposite sentiments. She could be as abusive against free institutions and civil and religious rights, as ever her husband was. She has been heard to declare, that sovereignty was worth little where it was merely nominal, and that to be king or queen in a country where people governed through their Parliament, was to wear a crown, and to exercise none of the prerogatives which are ordinarily attached to it. At other times she would declare, that the real glory of Eng-

land was the result of her free institutions; the people were industrious and enterprising because they were free, and knew that their property was secure from any attack on the part of prince or government. They consequently regarded their sovereign with more affection than a despotic monarch could be regarded by a slavish people; and she added, that she would not have cared to share a throne in England, if the people by whom it was surrounded had been slaves without a will of their own, or a heart that throbbed at the name of liberty. The king never had but one opinion on the subject, and *therefore* the theatre at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields was for ever resounding with claptraps against despotism, and *that* in presence of an audience of whom Frederick, Prince of Wales, was chief, and Bolingbroke led the applause.

But even Drury Lane could be as democratic as Lincoln's-Inn. Thus, in the very year of which we are treating, Lillo brought out his "Christian Hero" at Lincoln's-Inn, and the audience had as little difficulty to apply the parts to living potentates as they had reluctance to applaud to the echo passages like the following against despotic rulers:—

> Despotic power, that root of bitterness,
> That tree of death that spreads its baleful arms
> Almost from pole to pole, beneath whose cursed shade
> No good thing thrives, and every ill finds shelter,—
> Had found no time for its detested growth
> But for the follies and the crimes of men.

But "Drury" did not often offend in this guise, and even George and Caroline might have gone to see "Junius Brutus" and have been amused. The queen, who well knew the corruption of the senate, might have smiled as Mills, in Brutus, with gravity declared that the senators,—

> Have heaped no wealth, though hoary grown in honors,

and George might have silently assented to the reply of Cibber, Jun., in "Messala," that,—

> On crowns they trample with superior pride;
> They haughtily affect the pomp of princes.

I do not know who played the Prince of Wales at "Drury." I find that Shakespeare's Henry Fourth was played on April 11, 1735, but only three of the characters are named in the newspaper announcement,—namely, Falstaff, by Harper; Hostess, by Mrs. Cross; and Doll Tearsheet, by Miss Mann. Three weeks afterwards, Frederick "commanded" the farce of "A Cure for a Scold;" and as this was at a time when dissension between himself and his royal mother ran highest, the piece commanded may have had some "*intention*" in it. As these amiable people did all they possibly could to annoy one another, perhaps when their majesties, at the time of the union between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Augusta of Saxe Gotha, began to be much spoken of,—commanded the "Fatal Marriage" at Drury Lane (for Mrs. Porter's benefit), there also may have been something satirical, if not significant therein. At Covent Garden, Henry Fourth was represented on the 17th of April, 1735; and this was the night, perhaps, on which the king was delighted to find a scrubby Prince of Wales whom he might most heartily abuse. The prince, on this occasion, was represented by Hallam. Stephen played the King, and Bridgewater, Falstaff. At distant Goodman's Fields the same piece was also represented, and with a better cast than that of the play represented before royalty. Hullett was the "ton of man," graceful Delane played the gallant Hotspur; airy Woodward enacted Prince John; Howard was the Mortimer, and Gifford,—who in one person combined those tragic, comic, and melo-dramatic powers which we have seen in our times in Wallack and Charles Kemble,—was a Prince of Wales, at whom not even a royal critic could have fairly sneered. Hallam, then, was the prince who earned the court's abuse.

Such abuse were specimens of the warmth of temper which Caroline had to bear from her royal consort. Her vice-chamberlain asserts, that the royal heart still beat for her as warmly as the temper did against her. This assertion is not proved; but the contrary, by the facts. These facts were of so painful a nature to the queen, that she did not like to speak of them even to Sir Robert Walpole. One of them is a precious instance of the conjugal warmth of heart pledged for by Lord Hervey.

The night before the king had last left Hanover for England, he supped gaily, in company with Madame Walmoden and her friends, who were not so *nice* as to think that the woman who had deserted her husband for a king who betrayed his consort, had at all lost *caste* by such conduct. Towards the close of the banquet, the frail lady, all wreathed in mingled tears and smiles, rose, and gave as a toast, or sentiment, the "next 29th of May." On that day the old libertine had promised to be again at the feet of his new concubine; and as this was known to the select and delicate company, they drank the "toast" amid shouts of loyalty and congratulations.

The knowledge of this fact gave more pain to Caroline than all the royal fits of ill-humor together. The pain was increased by the king's conduct at home. It had been his custom of a morning, at St. James's, to tarry in the queen's rooms until after he had, from behind the blinds, seen the guard relieved in the court-yard below: this took place about eleven o'clock. This year, he ceased to visit the queen, or to watch the soldiers; but by nine o'clock in the morning he was seated at his desk, writing lengthy epistles to Madame Walmoden, in reply to the equally long letters from the lady, who received and despatched a missive every post.

"He wants to go to Hanover, does he?" asked Sir Robert Walpole of Lord Hervey; "and to be there by the 29th of May. Well, he shan't go for all that."

But domestic griefs could not depress the queen's wit. An illustration of this is afforded by her remark on the *Triple Alliance*. "It always put her in mind," she said, "of the *South Sea* scheme, which the parties concerned entered into, not without knowing the cheat, but hoping to make advantage of it, every body designing, when he had made his own fortune, to be the first in scrambling out of it, and each thinking himself wise enough to be able to leave his fellow-adventurers in the lurch."

This was, perhaps, rather common sense than wit; but, whatever it may be accounted, the same happy judgment and expression were illustrated on many other occasions, as may be seen in Lord Hervey's Diary, to whose pages the reader is referred.

It has been well observed, that the king's good humor was now

as insulting to her majesty as his bad. When he was in the former rare vein, he exhibited it by entertaining the queen with accounts of her rival, and the many pleasures which he and that lady had enjoyed together. He appears at Hanover to have been as extravagant in the entertainments which he gave, as his grandfather, Ernest Augustus. Some of these court revels he caused to be painted on canvas; the ladies represented therein were all portraits of the actual revellers. Several of such pictures were brought over to England, and five of them were hung up in the queen's dressing-room. Occasionally, of an evening, the king would take a candle from the queen's table, and go from picture to picture, with Lord Hervey, telling him its history, explaining the joyous incidents, naming the persons represented, and detailing all that had been said or done on the particular occasion before them. "During which lecture," says the vice-chamberlain himself, "Lord Hervey, while peeping over his majesty's shoulders at those pictures, was shrugging up his own, and now and then stealing a look, to make faces at the queen, who, a little angry, a little peevish, and a little tired at her husband's absurdity, and a little entertained with his lordship's grimaces, used to sit and knot in a corner of the room, sometimes yawning, and sometimes smiling, and equally afraid of betraying those signs, either of her lassitude or mirth."

In the course of the year which we have now reached, Queen Caroline communicated to Lord Hervey a fact, which is not so much evidence of her majesty's common-sense, as of the presumption and immorality of those who gave Caroline little credit for having even the sense that is so qualified. Lord Bolingbroke had married the Marchioness de Villette, niece of Madame de Maintenon, about the year 1716. The union, however, was not only kept secret for many years, but when Bolingbroke was under attainder, and a sum of 52,000*l.* belonging to his wife was in the hands of Decker, the banker, Lady Bolingbroke swore that she was not married to him, and so obtained possession of a sum which, being hers, was her husband's, and which, being her husband's, who was attainted as a traitor, was forfeit to the crown. However, as some of it went through the hands of poor Sophia Dorothea's rival, the easy Duchess of Kendal, and her rapacious niece Lady

Walsingham, the matter was not inquired into. Subsequently, Lady Bolingbroke attempted to excuse her husband's alleged dealings with the pretender, by asserting that he entered into them solely for the purpose of serving the court of London. "That was, in short," said Caroline to Lord Hervey, "to betray the pretender; for though Madame de Villette softened the word, she did not soften the thing, which I own," continued the queen, "was a speech that had so much impudence and villany mixed up in it, that I could never hear him or her from that hour, and could hardly hinder myself from saying to her,—'And pray, madam, what security can the king have that my Lord Bolingbroke does not desire to come here with the same honest desire that he went to Rome? or that he swears that he is no longer a Jacobite, with any more truth than you have sworn you are not his wife?'" The only wonder is, considering Caroline's vivacious character, that she restrained herself from giving expression to her thoughts. She was eminently fond of "speaking daggers" to those who merited such a gladiatorial visitation.

CHAPTER V.

THE MARRIAGE OF FREDERICK PRINCE OF WALES.

THE queen never exhibited her *cleverness* in a clearer light, than when, in 1735, she got over the expected difficulty arising from a threatened parliamentary address to the throne, for the marriage and settlement of the Prince of Wales. She "crushed" it, to use the term employed by Lord Hervey, by gaining the king's consent, no difficult matter, to tell the prince that it was his royal sire's intention to marry him forthwith. The king had no princess in view for him; but was ready to sanction any choice he might think proper to make, and the sooner the better. As if the thing were already settled, the queen, on her side, talked publicly of the coming marriage of the heir apparent; but not a word was breathed as to the person of the bride. Caroline, moreover, to give the

matter a greater air of reality, purchased clothes for the wedding of her son with the yet "invisible lady," and sent perpetually to jewellers to get presents for the ideal, future, Princess of Wales.

The lady, however, was not a merely visionary bride. It was during the absence of the king in Hanover, that it was delicately contrived for him to see a marriageable princess,—Augusta of Saxe Gotha. He approved of what he saw, and wrote home to the queen, bidding her to prepare her son for the bridal.

Caroline communicated the order to Frederick, who received it with due resignation. His mother, who had great respect for outward observances, counselled him to begin his preparations for marriage, by sending away his ostentatiously maintained *favorite*, Miss Vane. Frederick pleased his mother by dismissing Miss Vane, and then pleased himself by raising to the vacant bad eminence Lady Archibald Hamilton, a woman of thirty-five years of age, and the mother of ten children. The prince visited her at her husband's house, where he was as well received by the master as by the mistress. He saw her constantly at her sister's, rode out with her, walked with her daily for hours in St. James's Park, "and, whenever she was at the drawing-room (which was pretty frequently,) his behavior was so remarkable, that his nose and her ear were inseparable, whilst, without discontinuing, he would talk to her as if he had rather been relating than conversing, from the time he came into the room to the moment he left it, and then seemed to be rather interrupted than to have finished."*

The first request made by Lady Archibald to her royal lover was, that he would not be satisfied with putting away Miss Vane; but that he would send her out of the country. The prince did not hesitate a moment; he sent a royal message, wherein he was guilty of an act of which no *man* would be guilty, to the woman whom he had loved. The message was taken by Lord Baltimore, who bore proposals, offering an annuity of 1600*l.* a-year to the lady, on condition that she would proceed to the continent, and give up the little son which owed to her the disgrace of his birth, but to which both she and the prince were most affectionately attached. The alternative was starvation in England

* Lord Hervey.

Miss Vane had an old admirer, to whom she sent in the hour of adversity, and who was the more happy to aid her in her extremity as, by so doing, he should not only have some claim on her gratitude, but that he could to the utmost of his heart's desire, annoy the prince, whom he intensely despised.

Lord Hervey sat down, and imagining himself for the nonce in the place of Miss Vane, he wrote a letter in that lady's name. The supposed writer softly reproved the fickle prince, reminded him of the fond old times ere love yet had expired, resigned herself to the necessity of sacrificing her own interests to that of England, and then running over the sacrifices which a foolish woman must ever make—of character, friends, family, and peace of mind —for the fool or knave whom she loves with more irregularity than wisdom, she burst forth into a tone of indignation at the mingled meanness and cruelty of which she was now made the object, and finally refused to leave either England or her child, spurning the money offered by the father, and preferring any fate that might come, provided she were not banished from the presence and the love of her boy.

Frederick was simple enough to exhibit this letter to his mother, sisters, and friends, observing at the same time, that it was far too clever a production to come from the hand of Miss Vane, and that he would not give her a farthing until she had revealed the name of the "rascal" who had written it. The author was popularly set down as being Mr. Pulteney.

On the other hand, Miss Vane published the prince's offer to her, and therewith her own letter in reply. The world was unanimous in condemning him as mean and cruel. Not a soul ever thought of finding fault with him as immoral. At length a compromise was effected. The prince explained away the cruel terms of his own epistle, and Miss Vane withdrew what was painful to him in hers. The pension of 1600*l.* a year was settled on her, with which she retired to a mansion in Grosvenor Street, her little son accompanying her. But the anxiety she had undergone had so seriously affected her health, that she was very soon after compelled to proceed to Bath. The waters were not healing waters for her. She died in that city, on the 11th of March, 1736, hav-

ing had one felicity reserved for her in her decline, the inexpressible one of seeing her little son die before her. "The queen and the Princess Caroline," says Lord Hervey, "thought the prince more afflicted for the loss of this child than they had ever seen him on any occasion, or thought him capable of being."

One of the most cherished projects of George the Second was, the union by marriage of two of his own children with two of the children of the King of Prussia. Such an alliance would have bound more intimately the descendants of Sophia Dorothea, through her son and daughter. The double marriage was proposed to the King of Prussia, in the name of the King of England, by Sir Charles Hotham, minister plenipotentiary. George proposed that his eldest son, Frederick, should marry the eldest daughter of the King of Prussia, and that his second daughter should marry the same king's eldest son. To these terms the Prussian monarch would not agree, objecting that if he gave *his* eldest daughter to the Prince of Wales, he must have the eldest, and not the second, daughter of George and Caroline for the Prince of Prussia. Caroline would have agreed to these terms; but George would not yield: the proposed intermarriages were broken off, and the two courts were estranged for years.

The Prussian princess, Frederica Wilhelmina, has published the memoirs of her life and times; and Ranke, quoting them in his "History of the House of Brandenburgh," enters largely into the matrimonial question, which was involved in mazes of diplomacy. Into the latter it is not necessary to enter; but to those who would know the actual causes of the failure of these proposed royal mar riages, the following passage from Ranke's work will not be without interest.

"Whatever be their exaggerations and errors, the memoirs of the Princess Frederica Wilhelmina must always be considered as one of the most remarkable records of the state of the Prussian court of that period. From these it is evident, that neither she herself, nor the queen, had the least idea of the grounds which made the king reluctant to give an immediate consent to the proposals. They saw in him a domestic tyrant, severe only towards his family, and weak to indifferent persons. The hearts on both

sides became filled with bitterness and aversion. The crown-prince, too, who was still of an age when young men are obnoxious to the influence of a clever elder sister, was infected with these sentiments. With a view to promote her marriage, he suffered himself to be induced to draw up in secret a formal declaration, that he would give his hand to no other than an English princess. On the other hand, it is inconceivable to what measures the other party had recourse, in order to keep the king steady to his resolution. Seckendorf had entirely won over General Grumbkoo, the king's daily and confidential companion, to his side; both of them kept up a correspondence of a revolting nature with Reichenbach, the Prussian resident in London. This Reichenbach, who boasts somewhere of his indifference to outward honors, and who was, at all events, chiefly deficient in an inward sense of honor, not only kept up a direct correspondence with Seckendorf, in which he informed him of all that was passing in England in relation to the marriage, and assured the Austrian agent that he might reckon on him as on himself; but, what is far worse, he allowed Grumbkoo to dictate to him what he was to write to the king, and composed his dispatches according to his directions. It is hardly conceivable that these letters should not have been destroyed; they were, however, found among Grumbkoo's papers at his death. Reichenbach, who played a subordinate part, but who regarded himself as the third party to this conspiracy, furnished on his side facts and arguments, which were to be urged orally to the king, in support of his statements. Their system was to represent to the king, that the only purpose of England was to reduce Prussia to the condition of a province, and to turn a party around him that might fetter and control all his actions; representations to which Frederick William was already disposed to lend an ear. He wished to avoid having an English daughter-in-law, because he feared he should be no longer master in his own house; perhaps she would think herself of more importance than him; he should die, inch by inch, of vexation. On comparing these intrigues, carried on on either side of the king, we must admit that the former—those in his own family—were the more excusable, since their sole object was the accomplishment of those marriages; upon the mere suspicion of which

the king broke out into acts of violence, which terrified his family and his kingdom, and astonished Europe. The designs of the other party were far more serious; their purpose was to bind Prussia in every point to the existing system, and to keep her aloof from England. Of this the king had no idea; he received without suspicion whatever Reichenbach wrote, or Grumbkoo reported to him."

The mutual friends, whose interest it was to keep Prussia and England wide apart, labored with a zeal worthy of a better cause, and not only broke the proposed marriages, but made enemies of the two kings. A dispute was built up between them, touching Mecklenburgh; and Prussian press-gangs and recruiting parties crossed into the Hanoverian territory, and carried off or inveigled the King of England's electoral subjects into the military service of Prussia. This was the most outrageous insult that could have been devised against the English monarch, and it was the most cruel that could be inflicted upon the inhabitants of the electorate.

The king of Prussia, as I have had occasion to say elsewhere, was not nice of his means for entrapping men, nor careful on whose territory he seized them, provided only they were obtained. The districts touching on the Prussian frontier were kept in a constant state of alarm, and border frays were as frequent and as fatal as they were on England and Scotland's *neutral* ground, which derived its name from an oblique application of etymology, and was so called because neither country's faction hesitated to commit murder or robbery upon it. I have seen in the inns near these frontiers some strange memorials of these old times. Those I allude to, are in the shape of "mandats," or directions, issued by the authorities, and they are kept framed and glazed, old curiosities, like the ancient way-bill at the *Swan*, at York, which announces a new fast coach travelling to London, God willing, in a week. These *mandats*, which were very common in Hanover when Frederick, after refusing the English alliance, took to sending his *Werbers*, or recruiters, to lay hold of such of the people as were likely to make good tall soldiers, were to this effect: they enjoined all the dwellers near the frontiers to be provided with arms and ammunition; the militia to hold themselves ready against any surprise; the arms to be examined every

Sunday by the proper authorities; watch and ward to be maintained day and night; patroles to be active; and it was ordered that, the instant any strange soldiers were seen approaching, the alarum-bells should be sounded, and preparations be made for repelling force by force. The Prussian *Werbers*, as they were called, were wont sometimes to do their spiriting in shape so questionable, that the most anti-belligerent travellers, and the most unwarlike and well-intentioned bodies, were liable to be fired upon, if their characters were not at once explained and understood. These were times when Hanoverians, who stood in fear of Prussia, never lay down in bed but with arms at their side; times when young peasants who, influenced by soft attractions, stole by night from one village to another to pay their *devoirs* to bright eyes waking to receive them, walked through perils, love in their hearts, and a musket on their shoulders. The enrollers of Frederick, and indeed those of his great son after him, cast a chill shadow of fear over every age, sex, and station of life.

In the mean time the two kings reviled each other as coarsely as any two dragoons in their respective services. The quarrel was nursed until it was proposed to be settled, not by diplomacy, but by a duel. When this was first suggested, the place, but not the time of meeting, was immediately agreed upon. The territory of Hildesheim was to be the spot whereon were to meet in deadly combat two monarchs—two fathers, who could not quietly arrange a marriage between their sons and daughters. It really seemed as if the blood of Sophia Dorothea of Zell was ever to be fatal to peace, and averse from connubial felicity.

The royal son of Sophia selected Brigadier-General Sutten for his second. The son-in-law of Sophia (it will be remembered that he had married that unhappy lady's daughter) conferred a similar honor on Colonel Derschein. His English majesty was to proceed to the designated arena from Hanover; Frederick was to make his way thither from Saltzdhal, near Brunswick. The two kings of Brentford could not have looked more ridiculous than these two. They would, undoubtedly, have crossed weapons, had it not been for the strong common sense of a Prussian diplomatist, named Borck. "It is quite right, and exceedingly dignified," said Borck,

one day to his master, when the latter was foaming with rage against George the Second, and expressing an eager desire for fixing a near day whereon to settle their quarrel,—"it is most fitting and seemly, since your majesty will not marry with England, to cut the throat, if possible, of the English monarch; but your faithful servant would still advise your majesty not to be overhasty in fixing the day: ill-luck might come of it." On being urged to show how this might be, he remarked,—"Your gracious majesty has lately been ill, is now far from well, and might, by naming an early day for voidance of this quarrel, be unable to keep his appointment." "We would name another," said the king. "And in the mean time," observed Borck, "all Europe, generally, and George of England, in particular, would be smiling, laughing, commenting on, and ridiculing the king who failed to appear, where he had promised to be present with his sword. Your majesty must not expose your sacred person and character to such a catastrophe as this: settle nothing till there is certainty that the pledge will be kept; and, in the mean time, defer naming the day of battle for a fortnight."

The advice of Borck was followed, and, of course the fight never "came off." The ministers of both governments exerted themselves to save their respective masters from rendering themselves supremely, and perhaps sanguinarily, ridiculous,—for the blood of both would not have washed out the absurdity of the thing. Choler abated, common sense came up to the surface, assumed the supremacy, and saved a couple of foolish kings from slaying or mangling each other. George, however, was resolved, and that for more reasons than it is necessary to specify, that a wife must be found for his heir-apparent; and it was Caroline who directed him to look at the princesses in the small and despotic court of Saxe Gotha.

Lord Delawar, who was sent to demand the hand of the princess from her brother, the Duke of Saxe Gotha, was long, lank, awkward, and unpolished. There was no fear here of the catastrophe which followed on the introduction to Francesca de Rimini of the handsome envoy whom she mistook for her bridegroom, and with whom she too prematurely fell in love, as soon as she beheld him.

Walpole, writing from King's College, May 2, 1736, says: "I believe the princess will have more beauties bestowed on her by the occasional poets, than even a painter would afford her. They will cook up a new Pandora, and in the bottom of the box inclose Hope, that all they have said is true. A great many, out of excess of good breeding, who have heard that it was rude to talk Latin before women, propose complimenting her in English; which she will be much the better for. I doubt most of them, instead of fearing their composition should not be understood, should fear they should; they wish they don't know what to be read by they don't know who."

When the king dispatched some half dozen lords of his council to propose to the prince that he should espouse the youthful princess Augusta, he replied, with a tone of mingled duty and indifference, something like Captain Absolute in the play, that "whoever his majesty thought a proper match for his son, would be agreeable to him."

The match was straightway resolved upon; and as the young lady knew little of French, and less of English, it was suggested to her mother that a few lessons in both languages would not be thrown away. The Duchess of Saxe Gotha, however, was wiser in her own conceit than her officious counsellors; and remembering that the Hanoverian family had been a score of years, and more, upon the throne of England, she very naturally concluded that the people all spoke or understood German, and that it would really be needlessly troubling the child to make her learn two languages, to acquire a knowledge of which would not be worth the pains spent upon the labor.

When princesses espouse heirs to thrones, they are certainly treated but with very scanty ceremony. It would seem that their own feelings are allowed to exercise very little influence in the matter; there is no pleasant wooing time; the bridegroom does not even give himself the trouble to seek the bride; and when the latter marries the deputy who is dispatched to espouse her by proxy, she knows as little of the principal as she does of his representative. But be this as it may, the blooming young Princess of Saxe Gotha submitted joyfully to custom and the chance of be-

coming Queen of England. She was willing to come and win what the Prince of Wales, had not dignity made him ungallant, should have gone and laid at her feet, and besought her to accept. Accordingly, the royal yacht, *William and Mary*, destined to carry many a less noble freight before its career was completed, bore the bride to our shores. She had a less stormy passage than our English Princess Mary, when the latter crossed the channel to espouse Louis XII. of France. The Princess Augusta and her bridal suit had no plumes disordered, nor silks discomposed, nor minds and bodies rendered like the plumes and silks by the roughness of the journey. When Lord Delawar handed her ashore at Greenwich, on the 25th April, 1736, she excited general admiration by her fresh air, good humor, and tasteful dress. It was St. George's day; no inauspicious day whereon landing should be made in England by the young girl of seventeen, who was to be the mother of the first king born and bred in England since the birthday of James II.

The royal bride was conducted to the Queen's House in the Park, where, as my fair readers, and indeed *all* readers, with equal good sense and a proper idea of the fitness of things, will naturally conclude that all the royal family had assembled to welcome, with more than ordinary warmth, one who came among them under circumstances of more than ordinary interest. But the truth is, that there was no one to give her welcome but solemn officers of state and criticising ladies in waiting. The *people* were there of course, and the princess had no cause to complain of any lack of warmth on their part. For want of better company, she spent half an hour with the English commonalty; and as she sat in the balcony overlooking the park, the gallant mob shouted themselves hoarse in her praise, and did her all homage until the tardy lover arrived, whose own peculiar homage he should have been in a little more lover-like haste to pay. However, Frederick came at last, and he came alone. The king, queen, duke and princesses sent "their compliments, and hoped she was well!" They could not have sent or said less, had she been Griselda fresh from her native cottage, and about to become the bride of the prince, without their consent and altogether against their will.

But the day was Sunday, and perhaps those distinguished personages were reluctant to indulge in too much expansion of feeling on the sacred day.

On the following day, Monday, Greenwich was as much alive as it is on a fine fair-day; for the princess dined in public, and all the world was there to see her. That is to say, she and the prince dined together in an apartment, the windows of which were thrown open "to oblige the curiosity of the people;" and it is only to be hoped that the springs of the period were not such inclement seasons as those generally known by the name of spring, to us. The people having stared their fill, and the princess having banqueted as comfortably as she could under such circumstances, the Prince of Wales took her down to the water, led her into a gaily decorated barge, and slowly up the river went the lovers,—with horns playing, streamers flying, and under a fusillade from old stocks of old guns, the modest artillery of colliers and other craft anxious to render to the pair the usual noisy honors of the way. They returned to Greenwich in like manner, similarly honored, and there having supped in public, the prince kissed her hand, took his leave, and promised to return upon the morrow.

On the Tuesday the already enamored Frederick thought better of his engagement, and tarried at home till the princess arrived there. She had left Greenwich in one of the royal carriages, from which she alighted at Lambeth, where taking boat she crossed to Whitehall. Here one of Queen Caroline's state chairs was awaiting her, and in it she was borne, by two stout carriers, plump as Cupids, but more vigorous, to St. James's Palace. The reception here was magnificent and tasteful. On the arrival of the bride, the bridegroom, already there to receive her, took her by the hand as she stepped out of the chair, softly checked the motion she made to kneel to him and kiss his hand, and drawing her to him, gallantly impressed a kiss—nay two, for the record is very precise on this matter—upon her lips. All confusion and happiness, the illustrious couple ascended the staircase, hand in hand. The prince led her into the presence of a splendid and numerous court, first introducing her to the king, who would not suffer her to kneel, but, putting his arm around her, saluted her

on each cheek. Queen Caroline greeted as warmly the bride of her eldest son; and the Duke of Cumberland and the princesses congratulated her on her arrival in terms of warm affection.

The king, who had been irritably impatient for the arrival of the bride, and had declared that the ceremony should take place without him, if it were not speedily concluded, was softened by the behavior of the youthful princess on her first appearing in his presence. "She threw herself all along on the floor, first at the king's and then at the queen's feet."* This prostration was known to be so acceptable a homage to his majesty's pride, that, joined to the propriety of her whole behavior on this occasion, it gave the spectators great prejudice in favor of her understanding.

The poor young princess, who came into England unaccompanied by a single female friend, behaved with a propriety and ease which won the admiration of Walpole, and the sneers of the old roué ladies who criticised her. Her self-possession, joined as it was with modesty, showed that she was "well-bred." She was not irreproachable of shape or carriage, but she was fair, youthful and sensible,—much more sensible than the bridegroom, who quarrelled with his brother and sisters, in her very presence, upon the right of sitting down and being waited on, in such presence!

The squabbles between the brothers and sisters touching etiquette, show the extreme littleness of the minds of those who engaged in them. The prince would have had them, on the occasion of their dining with himself and bride, the day before the wedding, be satisfied with stools instead of chairs, and consent to being served with something less than the measure of respect shown to *him* and the bride. To meet this, they refused to enter the dining-room till the stools were taken away and chairs substituted. They then were waited upon by their own servants, who had orders to imitate the servants of the Prince of Wales in every ceremony used at table. Later in the evening, when coffee was brought round by the prince's servants, his visitors declined to take any, out of fear that their brother's domestics might have had instructions to inflict "some disgrace (had they accepted of any) in the manner of giving it!"

* Lord Hervey.

On the day of the arrival of the bride at St. James's, after a dinner of some state, and after some re-arrangement of costume, the ceremony of marriage was performed, under a running salute from artillery, which told to the metropolis the progress made in the nuptial solemnity. The bride "was in her hair," and wore a crown with one bar, as Princess of Wales, a profusion of diamonds adding lustre to a youthful bearing that could have done without it. Her rode was not, indeed, that of a bride, but is said to have been the proper one for a Princess of Wales,—it was of crimson velvet, bordered with row upon row of ermine, and with a train attached which was supported by four "maids," three of whom were daughters of dukes. They were Lady Caroline Lennox, daughter to the Duke of Richmond; Lady Caroline Fitzroy, daughter of the Duke of Grafton; Lady Caroline Cavendish, daughter of the Duke of Devonshire,—and, with the three brides who bore the name of the present queen, was one who bore that of her whom the king had looked upon as really Queen of England,—of Sophia, his mother. This fourth lady was Lady Sophia Fermor, daughter of the Earl of Pomfret.

I have said that the robe of the *mariée* was rather that of a princess than of a bride, but I must not be misunderstood. What is so called is applied only to the mantle. Excepting the mantle, the "maids" were dressed precisely similar to the "bride" whom they surrounded and served. They were all in "virgin habits of silver." What that may be, I do not profess to decide. There is more clearness about the next detail, which tells us that each bridesmaid wore diamonds of the value of from twenty to thirty thousand pounds each.

The Duke of Cumberland performed the office of father to the bride, and they were ushered to the altar by the Duke of Grafton and Lord Hervey, the lord and vice-chamberlains of the household. The Countess of Effingham and the other ladies of the household, left the queen's side to swell the following of the bride. The Lord Bishop of London, Dean of the Chapel Royal, officiated on this occasion, and when he pronounced the two before him to have become as one, voices in harmony arose within, the trumpets blazoned forth their edition of the event, the drums rolled a deaf-

ening peal, a clash of instruments followed, and above all boomed the thunder of the cannon in the Park, telling in a million echoes of the conclusion of the irrevocable compact. A little ceremony followed in the king's drawing-room, which was in itself appropriate, and which seemed to have heart in it. On the assembling there of the entire bridal party, the newly-married couple went, once more hand in hand, and kneeling before the king and his consort, who were seated at the upper end of the room, the latter solemnly gave their blessing to their children, and bade them be happy.

A royally joyous supper succeeded, at half-past ten, where healths were drank, and a frolicsome sort of spirit maintained, as was common in those somewhat "common" times. And then followed a sacred portion of the ceremony, which is now considered as being more honored in the breach than the observance. The bride was conducted processionally to her sleeping apartment; while the prince was helped to disrobe by his royal sire, and his brother the duke. The latter aided him in divesting him of some of his heavy finery, and the king very gravely "did his royal highness and prince the honor to put on his shirt." All this must have been considered more than nuisance enough by the parties on whom it was inflicted by way of honor, but the newly-married victims of that day had much more to endure.

When intimation had been duly made that the princess had been undressed and re-dressed by her maids, and was seated in the bed ready to receive all customary and suitable honor, the king and queen entered the chamber. The former was attired in a dress of gold brocade, turned up with silk, embroidered with large flowers in silver and colors, with a waistcoat of the same, and buttons and star dazzling with diamonds. Caroline was in "a plain yellow silk, robed and faced with pearls, diamonds, and other jewels, of immense value. The Dukes of Newcastle, Grafton, and St. Alban's, the Earl of Albemarle, Colonel Pelham, and many other noblemen, were in gold brocades of from three to five hundred pounds a suit. The Duke of Marlborough was in a white velvet and gold brocaded tissue. The waistcoats were universally brocades with large flowers. It was observed," continues the

court historiographer, "most of the rich clothes were of the manufactures of England, and in honor of our own artists. The few which were French did not come up to those in goodness, richness, or fancy, as was seen by the clothes worn by the royal family, which were all of the British manufacture. The cuffs of the sleeves were universally deep and open, the waists long, and the plaits more sticking out than ever. The ladies were principally in brocades of gold and silver, and wore their sleeves much lower than had been done for some time."

When all these finely dressed people were assembled, and the bride was sitting upright in bed, in a dress of superb lace, the princely bridegroom entered, "in a nightgown of silver stuff, and cap of the finest lace." He must have looked like a facetious prince in a Christmas extravaganza. However, he took his place by the side of the bride; and while both sat "bolt upright" in bed, the "quality" generally were admitted to see the sight, and to smile at the edifying remarks made by the king and other members of the royal family who surrounded the couch.

The whole affair has, to our modern eyes and thoughts, a marvellously farcical appearance, and an indelicate aspect; but it was, in fact, the last scene of a drama of some seriousness. When Sir Robert Walpole heard that the old Duchess of Marlborough had offered her favorite grand-daughter, Lady Diana Spencer, with a fortune of one hundred thousand pounds, to this prince whose expenses far exceeded his income; and when he understood, moreover, that the prince had actually condescended to take the money and the lady with it, the happy day being fixed whereon the event was to come off privately at the duchess's lodge in Windsor Park, the minister became as busy as the chief intriguer in a Spanish comedy to save Frederick from an act of disobedience and folly. It was then that, by the advice of Sir Robert, the king sent a message through two privy councillors to his son, with whom he was already at variance, proposing to him the match with Augusta, daughter of Frederick II., Duke of Saxe-Gotha. The lady, as before stated, was not ill-endowed either as regards beauty or intellect. Arrangements, too, were proposed to settle the pecuniary affairs of the prince, on a more satisfactory footing;

and these things considered, Frederick consented to take Augusta with the same indifference, and for about the same reason, which influenced him in the matter of Lady Diana Spencer. When Walpole now saw him enter the state bed-room and glide through the crowd to his couch, decked in his silver-tissue dress and night-cap, he might have congratulated himself on the comedy being happily ended, and if he had only known French, he might have exultingly sung—

Allez-vous en gens de la noce.

The record of this happy event would hardly be complete were we to omit to notice that it was made the occasion of a remarkable *début* in the House of Commons. An address congratulatory of the marriage was moved by Mr. Lyttelton, and the motion was seconded by Mr. Pitt, subsequently the first Earl of Chatham, who then made his first speech in Parliament. The speech made by Lyttelton was squeaking and smart. That of Cornet Pitt, as he was called, was so favorable to the virtues of the son, and, by implication, so insulting to the person of the father, that it laid the foundation of the lasting enmity of George against Pitt;—an enmity the malevolence of which was first manifested by depriving Pitt of his cornetcy. The poets were, of course, as polite as the senators, and epithalamia rained upon the happy pair in showers of highly complimentary and very indifferent verse. The lines of Whitehead, the laureate, were tolerably good, for a laureat, and the following among them have been cited "as containing a wish which succeeding events fully gratified."

Such was the age, so calm the earth's repose,
When Maro sung and a new Pollio rose.
Oh! from such omens may again succeed
Some glorious youth to grace the nuptial bed;
Some future Scipio, good as well as great,
Some young Marcellus with a better fate:
Some infant Frederick, or some George, to grace
The rising records of the Brunswick race.

If these set ringing the most harmonious of the echoes which Parnassus could raise on the occasion, the other metrical essays must have been wretched things indeed. But the Muse at that

time was not a refined muse. If a laureate would only find rhyme —decency and logic were gladly dispensed with.

The prince was very zealous and painstaking in introducing his bride to the people. For this purpose they were often together at the theatre. On one of these occasions, the princess must have had but an indifferent idea of the civilization of the people over whom she fairly expected one day to reign as queen-consort. The occasion alluded to was on the third of May, 1736, when great numbers of footmen assembled, with weapons, in a tumultuous manner, broke open the doors of Drury Lane Theatre, and fighting their way to the stage doors, which they forced open, they prevented the Riot Act being read by Colonel De Veal, who nevertheless arrested some of the ringleaders, and committed them to Newgate. In this tumult, founded on an imaginary grievance that the footmen had been illegally excluded from the gallery, to which they claimed to go *gratis*, many persons were severely wounded, and the terrified audience hastily separated; the prince and princess, with a large number of persons of distinction, retiring when the tumult was at its highest. The Princess of Wales had never witnessed a popular tumult before, and though this was ridiculous in character, it was serious enough of aspect to disgust her with that part of "the majesty of the people" which was covered with *plush*.

The king, in spite of Sir Robert Walpole's threat, proceeded to Hanover in the month of May. Before he quitted England he sent word to his son that, wherever the Queen Regent resided, *there* would be apartments for the Prince and Princess of Wales. Frederick looked upon this measure in its true light, namely, as making him a sort of prisoner, and preventing the possibility of two separate courts, in the king's absence. The prince determined to disobey his father and thwart his mother. When the queen removed from one residence to another, he feigned preparations to follow her, and then feigned obstructions to them. He pleaded an illness of the princess which did not exist, and was surprised that his medical men declined to back up *his* lie by another of their own. The queen on her side, feigning anxious interest in her daughter-in-law, visited her in her imaginary illness, but the pa-

tient, who was first said to be suffering from measles, then from a rash, and finally was declared to be really indisposed with a cold, was kept in a darkened room, and was otherwise so trained to deceive, that Caroline left the bed-side as wise as when she went to it. In this conduct towards his mother, Frederick was chiefly influenced by his ill-humor at the queen's being appointed regent. When she opened the commission at Kensington, which she always did as soon as she received intelligence of the landing of the king in Holland, Frederick would not attend the council, but contrived to reach the palace just after the members had concluded their business.

CHAPTER VI.

AT HOME AND OVER THE WATER.

THOUGH the king delegated all royal power to the queen, as regent, during his absence, he illegally (ignorant, perhaps, that the royal prerogative was not divisible),* exercised his kingly office when in Hanover, by signing commissions for officers. The queen would not consent that objection should be taken to this course followed by her husband, or that any representation should be made to him on the subject. Such acts, indeed, did not interfere with her great power as regent—a power which she wielded in union with Walpole. These two persons governed the kingdom according to their own councils, but the minister, nevertheless, placed every conclusion at which he and the queen had arrived, before the cabinet council, by the obsequious members of which, the conclusions, whatever they were, were sanctioned, and the necessary documents signed. Thus Walpole, by the side of the queen, acted as independently as if he had been king; but of his acts he managed to make the cabinet share with him the responsibility.

The office exercised by her was very far from being a sinecure, or exempt from great anxieties; but it was hardly more onerous

* There is some doubt, however, upon this matter.

than that which she exercised during the king's residence in England. Her chief troubles, she was wont to say, were derived from the bishops.

If Caroline could not speak so harshly of the prelates, generally or individually, as her husband, she could reprove them, when occasion offered, with singular asperity. We may see an instance of this in the case of the episcopal opposition to the Mortmain and Quakers' Relief Bills; but especially to the latter. This particular bill had for its object to render more easy the recovery of tithes from quakers; the latter did not ask for exemption, but for less oppression in the method of levying. The court wished that the bill should pass into law. Sherlock, now Bishop of Salisbury, wrote a pamphlet against it; and the prelates generally, led by Gibson, Bishop of London, stirred up all the dioceses in the kingdom to oppose it, with a cry of *The Church in danger*. Sir Robert Walpole represented to the queen that all the bishops were blamable; but that the chief blame rested upon Sherlock, whose opposition was described as being as little to be justified in point of understanding and policy, as in integrity and gratitude. Sir Robert declared, that he was at once the dupe and the willing follower of the Bishop of London, and that both were guilty of endeavoring to disturb the quiet of the kingdom.

The first time Dr. Sherlock appeared at court after this, the queen chid him extremely, and asked him if he was not ashamed to be overreached in this manner by the Bishop of London. She accused him of being a second time the dupe of the latter prelate, who was charged with having misled him in a matter concerning the advancement of Dr. Rundle to an episcopal see. "How," she asked him, "could he be blind and weak enough to be running his nose into another's dirt again." As for the king, he spoke of the prelates on this occasion "with his usual softness." They were, according to the hereditary defender of the faith, "a parcel of black, canting, hypocritical rascals." They were "silly," "impertinent" fellows, presuming to dictate to the crown; as if it were not the express duty of a bishop to exercise this boldness when emergency warranted, and occasion suited.

Both bills were passed in the Commons. The Mortmain Bill

(to prevent the further alienation of lands by will in mortmain) passed the Lords; but the Quakers' Relief Bill was lost there by a majority of two.

The queen was far from desiring that the bishops should be so treated as to make them in settled antagonism with the crown. She one day ventured to say something in this spirit to the king. It was at a time when he was peevishly impatient to get away to Hanover, to the society of Madame Walmoden, and to the young son born there since his departure. He is reported to have exclaimed to Caroline, when she was gently urging a more courteous treatment of the bishops,—"I am sick to death of all this foolish stuff, and wish, with all my heart, that the devil may take all your bishops, and the devil take your minister, and the devil take the parliament, and the devil take the whole island, provided I can get out of it, and go to Hanover."*

What Caroline meant by moderation of behavior towards the bishops, it is hard to understand; for when Drs. Sherlock and Hare complained to her that, in spite of their loyalty to the crown, they were nightly treated with great coarseness and indignity by lords closely connected with the court, Caroline spoke immediately, in the harsh tone and strong terms ordinarily employed by her consort, and said, that she could more easily excuse Lord Hervey, who was chiefly complained of as speaking sharply against them in parliament,—"I can easier excuse him," exclaimed her majesty, "for throwing some of the Bishop of London's dirt upon you, than I can excuse *all you other fools* (who love the Bishop of London no better than he does,) for taking the Bishop of London's dirt upon yourselves." She claimed a right to chide the prelates soundly, upon the ground that she loved them deeply—and she made very liberal use of the privilege she claimed. Bishop Hare, in replying, called Lord Hinton, one of Lord Hervey's imitators, his "ape." The queen told this to Lord Hervey, who answered, that his ape, if he came to know that such term had been applied to him, would certainly knock down the queen's "baboon." Caroline, with a childish spirit of mischief, communicated to Hare what

* Lord Hervey.

she had done, and what her vice-chancellor had said upon it. The terrified prelate immediately broke the third commandment, exclaiming, "Good God! madam, what have you done? As for Lord Hervey, he will satisfy himself, perhaps, with playing his wit off upon me, and calling me *Old Baboon;* but, for my Lord Hinton, who has no wit, he will knock me down." This tallied so ridiculously, we are told by the vice-chamberlain, who reports the scene, with the information given him by Caroline herself,—"This tallied so ridiculously with what Lord Hervey had said to the queen, that she burst into a fit of laughter, which lasted some minutes before she could speak; and then she told the bishop, 'That is just, my good lord, what Lord Hervey did do, and what he said the ape would do.'" The queen, however, promised that no harm should come to the prelate.

No inconsiderable amount of harm, however, was inflicted on many of the prelates, including Hare himself. Walpole was disposed to translate him, when an advantageous opportunity offered; but Hervey showed him good reason for preferring pliant Potter, then of Oxford. Gibson, the Bishop of London, had been looking to be removed to Canterbury, whenever Dr. Wake's death there should cause a vacancy. He expected, however, that, in accordance with his wish, Sherlock should succeed him in London. The queen was disposed to sanction the arrangement; but she was frightened out of it by Walpole and Hervey. She accordingly advised Sherlock "to go down to his diocese, and live quietly; to let the spirit he had raised so foolishly against him here subside; and to reproach himself only if he had failed, or should fail, of what he wished should be done, and she had wished to do for him."

During the absence of the king in 1736, in Hanover, the Queen Regent had but an uneasy time of it at home. First, there were corn riots in the west, which were caused by the attempts of the people to prevent the exportation of corn, and which could only be suppressed by aid of the military. Next, there were labor riots in the metropolis in consequence of the market being overstocked by Irish laborers, who offered to work at lower rates than the English; and which also the bayonet alone was able to suppress. Thirdly, the coasts were infested by smugglers, whom the prospect

of the hangman could not deter from their exciting vocation, and who not only killed revenue officers in very pretty battles, but were heartily assisted by the country people, who looked upon the contrabandists as most gallant and useful gentlemen. Much sedition was mixed up with the confusion which arose from these tumultuary proceedings; for whenever the people were opposed in their inclinations, they immediately took to cursing the queen especially, not, however, sparing the king: nor forgetting, in their street ovations, to invoke blessings upon James III. It was, indeed, the fashion for every aggrieved person to speak of George II. in his character of Elector of Hanover, as "a foreign prince." When this was done by a nonjuring clergyman named Dixon, who exploded an innocent infernal machine in Westminster Hall, to the great terror of judges and lawyers, and which scattered papers over the hall, denouncing various acts of parliament, first that against the sale of gin in unlicensed places: then the act for building Westminster Bridge; the one to suppress smuggling; and that which enabled "a foreign prince" to borrow 600,000*l.* of money sacredly appropriated to the payment of our debts,—the lord chancellor and the chief justice were so affrighted, that they called the *escapade* "a treason." Caroline summoned a council thereon, and having at last secured the half-mad and destitute offender, they consigned him to rot in a jail; although, as Lord Hervey says, "the lawyers *should* have sent him to Bedlam, and *would* have sent him to Tyburn."

The popular fury was sometimes so excited, that it was found necessary, as in the Michaelmas of this year, to double the guards who had the care of her sacred majesty at Kensington. The populace had determined upon being drunk when, where, and how they liked. The government had resolved that they should not get drunk upon gin at any but licensed places; and thereupon the majesty of the people became so furious, that even the person of Caroline was hardly considered safe in her own palace.

Nor were riots confined only to England. A formidable one broke out in Edinburgh,—based upon admiration for a smuggler named Wilson, who had very cleverly robbed a revenue officer, as well as defrauded the revenue. The mob thought it hard that the

poor fellow should be hanged, as he was, for such little foibles as these; and though they could not rescue him from the gallows, they raised a desperate tumult as he was swung from it. The town guard fired upon the rioters, by order of their captain, Porteous, and several individuals were slain. The captain was tried for this alleged unlawful slaying, and was condemned to die; but Caroline, who admired promptness of character, stayed the execution by sending down a reprieve. The result is well known; the mob broke open the prison and inflicted Lynch law upon the captain, hanging him in the market-place, amid a shower of curses and jeers against Caroline and her reprieve.

The indignation of the Queen Regent was almost incontrollable. She was especially indignant against General Moyle, commander of the troops, who had refused to interfere to suppress the riot. He was tolerably well justified in his refusal; for the magistrates of Edinburgh, ever ready to invoke assistance, were given to betray them who rendered it, to the gallows, if the riot was suppressed by shedding the blood of the rioters. His conduct on this occasion was further regulated by orders from his commander-in-chief. Caroline had no regard for any of the considerations which governed the discreet general, and in the vexation of her chafed spirit, she declared that Moyle deserved to be shot by order of a court-martial. It was with great difficulty that her ministers and friends succeeded in softening the asperity of her temper; even Sir Robert Walpole, who joined in representing that it were better to hold Moyle harmless, maintained in private that the general was fool, knave, or coward. Lord Hervey says that the queen resented the conduct of the Scotch on this occasion, as showing "a tendency to shake off all government; and I believe was a little more irritated, from considering it in some degree as a personal affront to her, who had sent Captain Porteous's reprieve; and had she been told half what was reported to have been said of her by the Scotch mob on this occasion, no one could think that she had not ample cause to be provoked."

To return to the domestic affairs of Caroline; it is to be observed that the queen had not seen the king leave England, with indifference. She was aware that he was chiefly attracted to Hanover by

the unblushing rival who, on his departure thence, had drank, amid smiles and tears, to his speedy return. His departure, therefore, something affected her proud spirit, and she was for a season depressed. But business acted upon her as a tonic, and she was occupied and happy, yet not without her hours of trial and vexation, until the time approached for the king's return.

Bitter, however, were her feelings, when she found that return protracted beyond the usual period. For the king to be absent on his birthday was a most unusual occurrence, and Caroline felt that the rival must have some power indeed who could thus restrain him from indulgence in old habits. She was however, as proud as she was pained. She began to grow cool in her ceremony and attentions to the king. She abridged the ordinary length of her letters to him, and the usual four dozen pages were shortened into some seven or eight. Her immediate friends, who were aware of this circumstance, saw at once that her well-known judgment and prudence were now in default. They knew that to attempt to insinuate reproach to the king would arouse his anger, and not awaken his sleeping tenderness. They feared lest her power over him should become altogether extinct, and that his majesty would soon as little regard his wife by force of habit as he had long ceased to do by readiness of inclination. It was Walpole's conviction that the king's respect for her was too firmly based to be ever shaken. Faithless himself, he reverenced the fidelity and sincerity which he knew were in her; and if she could not rule by the heart, it was certain that she might still continue supreme by the head—by her superior intellect. Still, the minister recognized the delicacy and the danger of the moment, and in an interview with Caroline, he made it the subject of as extraordinary a discussion as was ever held between minister and royal mistress—between man and woman. Walpole reminded her of faded charms and growing years, and he expatiated on the impossibility of her ever being able to establish supremacy in the king's regard by power of her personal attractions! It is a trait of her character worth noticing, that she listened to these unwelcome, but almost unwarrantably expressed truths, with immovable patience. But Walpole did not stop here. He urged her to resume her long letters to the king, and to address him in

terms of humility, submissiveness, duty, and tender affection; and he set the climax on what one might almost be authorized to consider his impudence, by recommending her to invite the king to bring Madame Walmoden with him to England. At this counsel, the tears *did* spring into the eyes of Caroline. The softened feeling, however, only maintained itself for a moment. It was soon forgotten in her desire to recover or retain her power. She promised to obey the minister in all he had enjoined upon her; but Walpole, well as he knew her, very excusably conjectured that there *must* still be enough of the mere woman in her, to induce her to refuse to perform what she had promised to accomplish. He was, however, mistaken. It is true, indeed, that her heart recoiled at what the head had resolved, but she maintained her resolution. She conversed calmly with Walpole on the best means of carrying it out. But the minister put no trust in her assertions until such a letter as he had recommended had actually been dispatched by her to the king. She rallied Walpole on his doubts of her, but praised him for his abominable counsel. It was this commendation which alarmed him. He could believe in her reproof; but he affirmed that he was always afraid when Caroline "*daubed.*" However, he was now obliged to believe, for the queen spoke calmly of the coming of her rival, allotted rooms for her reception, devised plans and projects for rendering her comfortable, and even expressed her willingness to take her into her own service! Walpole opposed this, but she cited the case of Lady Suffolk. Upon which the minister observed, with infinite moral discrimination, that there was a difference between the king's making a mistress of the queen's servant, and making a queen's servant of his mistress. The people might reasonably look upon the first as a very natural condition of things, while the popular virtue might feel itself outraged at the second. Caroline said nothing, but wrote certainly the most singular letter that ever wife wrote to a husband. It was replied to by a letter also the most singular that ever husband addressed to a wife. * The king's epistle was full of admiration at his consort's

* Copies of the original letters in French, will be found in Lord Hervey's admirable volumes.

amiable conduct, and of descriptions of her rival's bodily and mental features. He extolled the virtues of his wife, and then expressed a wish—the wretched little debauched hypocrite—that he could be as virtuous as she! "But," wrote he, in very elegant French, in which dirty passion was hidden beneath very refined sentiment; "But you know my passions, my dear Caroline; you know my weaknesses; there is nothing in my heart hidden from you; and would to God," exclaimed the mendacious, blaspheming libertine, "would to God that you could correct me with the same facility with which you apprehend me. Would to God that I could imitate you as well as I admire you, and that I could learn of you all the virtues which you make me see, feel, and love."

The figure of Louis XI., kneeling before the Virgin, and asking permission to sin once more, upon proper compensation, is dignified compared with this matter-of-fact husband who affects to revere the virtues which he cannot imitate, and who pleads, to his own wife, the strength of his unlicensed passions, which prompt him to an infidelity which she, on her side, is too prompt to further and to pardon. Some centuries more must elapse before a scene like this can seem to wear about it a halo of historical dignity. But centuries will not hide the fact that on this occasion, in the weakness of Caroline, there was an infamy as stupendous as that in the vice of her most worthless husband.

The queen then had not only to look after the affairs of the kingdom in the monarch's absence, but to assist him with her advice for the better management of his love affairs in Hanover. With all Madame Walmoden's affected fidelity towards him, he had good grounds for suspecting that his interest in her was shared by less noble rivals. The senile dupe was perplexed in the extreme. One rival named as being on too familiar terms with the lady, was a Captain von Schulemberg, a relation of the Duchess of Kendal. There was a little drama enacted by all three parties, as complicated as a Spanish comedy, and full of love-passages, rope-ladders, and lying. The closing scene exhibits the lady indignant in asserting her innocence, and the wretched monarch too happy to put faith in her assertions. When left alone, however, he addressed a letter to his wife, asking her what she thought of the matter, and

requesting her to consult Walpole, as a man "who has more experience in these sort of matters, my dear Caroline, than yourself, and who in the present affair must necessarily be less prejudiced than I am!" There never was an epithet of obloquy which this miserable fellow flung at his fellow-men, which might not have been more appropriately applied to himself.

Caroline, doubtless, gave the counsel that was expected from her; and then, having settled to the best of her ability this very delicate affair, she was called upon to interfere in a matter more serious. The young Princess of Wales had scandalized the whole royal family by taking the sacrament at the German Lutheran chapel. Serious remonstrance was made to her on the subject; but the young lady shed tears, and pleaded her conscience. Religious liberty, however, was not a thing to be thought of, and she must take the sacrament according to the forms prescribed by the Church of England. She resisted the compulsion, until it was intimated to her that if she persisted in the course on which she had entered, there was a possibility that she might be sent back to Saxe-Gotha. Upon that hint she at once joined the Church of England. She had no more hesitation than a Lutheran or Catholic German princess, who marries into the Czar's family, has of at once accepting all which the Greek Church enjoins, and which the lady neither cares for nor comprehends.

Nor was this the only church matter connected with the princess, which gave trouble to the queen. The case of conscience was followed by a case of courtesy, or rather perhaps of the want of it. The queen attended divine service regularly in the chapel in Kensington Palace, and set a good example of being early in her attendance, which was not followed by the Prince and Princess of Wales, when they also were in residence at the palace. It was the bad habit of the latter, doubtless at the instigation of her husband, not to enter the chapel till after the service had commenced, and the queen was engaged in her devotions. The princess had then, in order to get to the seat allotted to her, to pass by the queen—a large woman in a small pew! The scene was unbecoming in the extreme, for the princess passed in front of her majesty, between her and the prayer-book, and there was much

confusion and unseemliness in consequence. When this had been repeated a few times, the queen ordered Sir William Toby, the princess's chamberlain, to introduce his royal mistress by another door than that by which the queen entered, whereby her royal highness might pass to her place without indecorously incommoding her majesty. The prince would not allow this to be done, and he only so far compromised the matter, by ordering the princess, whenever she found the queen at chapel before herself, not to enter at all, but to return to the palace.

Caroline, offended as she was with her son, would not allow him to pretend that she was as difficult to live with as his father, and so concealed her anger. Lord Hervey so well knew that the prince wished to render the queen unpopular, that he counselled his royal mistress not to let her son enjoy a grievance that he could trade upon. Lord Hervey said, "he could wish that if the prince was to sit down in her lap, that she would only say, she hoped he found it easy."

For the princess, the queen had nothing but a feeling which partook mostly of a compassionate regard. She knew her to be really harmless, and thought her very dull company; which for a woman of Caroline's intellect and power of conversation, she undoubtedly was. The woman of cultivated mind yawned wearily at the truisms of the common-place young lady, and made an assertion with respect to her which bespoke a mind more coarse than cultivated. "Poor creature," said Caroline, of her young daughter-in-law, "were she to spit in my face, I should only pity her for being under such a fool's direction, and wipe it off." The fool, of course, was the speaker's son. The young wife, it must be confessed, was something childish in her ways. Nothing pleased her better than to play half through the day with a large, jointed doll. This she would dress and undress, and nurse and fondle at the windows of Kensington Palace, to the amusement and wonder, rather than to the edification, of the servants in the palace and the sentinels beneath the windows. The Princess Caroline almost forgot her gentle character in chiding her sister-in-law, and desiring her "not to stand at the window during these operations on her baby." The Princess

Caroline did not found her reproach upon the impropriety of the action, but upon that of allowing it to be witnessed by others. The lower people, she said, thought everything ridiculous that was not customary, and the thing would draw a mob about her, and make *la canaille* talk disagreeably!

The act showed the childishness of her character at that time; a childishness on which her husband improved by getting her to apply, through the queen, for the king's consent to allow her to place Lady Archibald Hamilton upon her household. Frederick informed his young wife of the position in which the world said the lady stood with regard to him; but he assured her that it was all false. Augusta believed, or affected to believe, or was perhaps indifferent; and Lady Archibald was made lady of the bedchamber, privy purse, and mistress of the robes to the princess, with a salary of nine hundred pounds a-year.

While the ladies of the court discussed the subject of the king, his wife, his favorite, and the favorite of the prince, and seriously canvassed the expediency of bringing Madame Walmoden to England, there were some who entertained an idea that it would be well if the sovereign himself could be kept out of it. The people took to commiserating Caroline, and there were many who censured her husband for his infidelity, while others only reproved him because that faithlessness was made profitable to foreigners and not to fairer frailty at home. In the meantime, his double taste for his electorate and the ladies there, was caricatured in various ways. Pasquinades intimated that his Hanoverian majesty would condescend to visit his British dominions at a future stated period. A lame, blind, and aged horse, with a saddle, a pillion behind it, was sent to wander through the streets, with an inscription on his forehead, which begged that nobody would stop him, as he was "the king's Hanoverian equipage, going to fetch his majesty and his ——— to England." The most stinging satire of all was boldly affixed to the walls of St. James's Palace, and was to this effect: "Lost or strayed, out of this house, a man who has left a wife and six children on the parish. Whoever will give any tidings of him to the churchwardens of St. James's parish, so as he may be got again, shall receive *four shillings and sixpence*

reward. N.B. This reward will not be increased, nobody judging him to deserve a crown."

The king himself was rather gratified than otherwise with satires which imputed to him a gallantry (as it is erroneously called) of disposition. He was only vexed when censure was gravely directed against him, which had reference to the incompatibility of his pursuits with his position, his age, and his infirmities. He preferred being reproved as a profligate, rather than being considered past the period when profligacy would be venial.

Previous to his return to England, he expressed a wish to the queen that she would remove from Kensington to St. James's, on the ground that it would be better for her health, and she would be easier of access to the ministers. The road between London and the suburban locality which may now be said to be a part of it, was, at the period alluded to, in so wretched a condition, that Kensington Palace was more remote from the metropolis, than Windsor Castle is now. Caroline understood her husband too well to obey. She continued, as regent, to live in retirement, and this affectation of disregard for the outward splendor of her office was not unfavorably looked upon by the king.

The queen's rule of conduct was not, however, that which best pleased her son. Frederick declared his intention of leaving the suburban palace for London.

Caroline was vexed at the announcement of the supposed author of an intention which amounted, in other words, to the setting up of a rival court; particularly, after the orders which had been communicated from the king to the Prince of Wales, through the Duke of Grafton. Frederick wrote a note in reply, like that of his mother's, in French, in which he intimated his willingness to remain at Kensington as long as the Queen Regent made it her residence. The note was probably written for the Prince by Lord Chesterfield. Caroline inflicted considerable annoyance on her son by refusing to consider him as the author of the note, which, by the way, Lord Hervey thought might have been written by "young Pitt," but certainly *not* by Lord Chesterfield. The note itself is only quoted from memory by Lord Hervey, who says that Lord Chesterfield would have written better French, as well as

with more turns and points. To me it appears to closely resemble the character of Lord Chesterfield's letters in French, which were never so purely French but there could be detected in them phrases which were mere translations of English idioms; and it was precisely because of such a fault that Caroline had suspected that the note was written by an Englishman born. The question, however, is not worth discussion. The fact remains to be noticed that, in spite of the promise made by the prince to remain at Kensington, he really removed to London, but, as his suite was left in the suburbs, he considered that his pledge was honorably maintained.

Frederick's conduct seems to have arisen from a fear which was as marked in him as it was in his father—a fear of its being supposed that he was governed by others. Had it been the queen's interest to rule him by letting him suppose that he was free from the influence of others, she would have done it as readily and as easily as in the case of the king. The queen considered him so far unambitious, that he did not long for his father's death, but Lord Hervey showed her that if *he* did not, the creditors who had lent him money, payable with interest at the king's decease, were less delicate in this matter; and that the demise of the king might be so profitable to many as to make the monarch's speedy death a consummation devoutly to be wished. The life of the sovereign was thus put in present peril, and Lord Hervey suggested to the queen that it would be well were a bill brought into parliament, making it a capital offence for any man to lend money for a premium at the king's death. "To be sure," replied the queen, "it ought to be so, and pray talk a little with Sir Robert Walpole about it." Meanwhile, Frederick Prince of Wales exhibited a liberality which charmed the public generally, rather than his creditors in particular, by forwarding 500*l.* to the Lord Mayor for the purpose of releasing poor freemen of the City, from prison. The act placed the prince in strong contrast with his father, who had been squandering large sums in Germany.

The king's departure from Hanover for England took place in the night of the 7th to the 8th of December, after one of those brilliant and festive farewell suppers which were now given on such occasions by the Circe or the Cynthia of the hour. Wine

and tears, no doubt, flowed abundantly; but, as soon as the scene could be decently brought to an end, the royal lover departed, and arrived on the 11th at Helvoetsluys. His daughter Anne was lying sick, almost to death, at the Hague, where her life had, with difficulty, been purchased by the sacrifice of that of the little daughter she had borne. The king, however, had not leisure for the demonstration of any parental affection, and he hurried on without even inquiring after the condition of his child. Matter-of-fact people are usually tender, and, if not tender, courteously decent people. The king was a matter-of-fact person enough, but even in this he acted like those highly refined and sentimental persons in whom affection is ever on their lips and venom in their hearts.

The wind was fair, and all London was in expectation, but without eagerness, of seeing once more their *gaillard* of a king, with his grave look, among them. But the wind veered, and a hurricane blew from the west with such violence, that every one concluded if the king had embarked he must necessarily have gone down, and the royal convoy of ships perished with him. Bets were laid upon the event, and speculation was busy in every corner. The excitement was naturally great, for the country had never been in such uncertainty about their monarch. Wagers increased. Walpole began to discuss the prospects of the royal family, the probable conduct of the possible new sovereign, the little regard he would have for his mother, the faithless guardian he would be over his brother and sisters, and the bully and dupe he would prove, by turns, of all with whom he came in contact. Lord Hervey and Queen Caroline discussed the same delicate question, and the latter, fancying that her son already assumed, in public and in her presence, the swagger of a new greatness, and that he was bidding for popularity, would not listen to Lord Hervey's assurances that she would be able to rule him as easily as she had done his father. She ridiculed his conduct, called him fool and ass, and averred that while the thought of some things he did "make her feel sick," the idea of the *popularity* of Fritz made her "vomit." As hour was added to hour, amid all this speculation and trouble, and "still Cæsar came not," reports of loss of life at sea became rife. At Harwich, guns had been heard at

night, booming over the waters; people had come to the conclusion that they were guns of distress fired from the royal fleet—the funeral dirge of itself and the monarch. Communication of this gratifying conclusion was made to Caroline. Prince Frederick kinkly prepared her for the worst; Lord Hervey added the expression of his fears that that worst was not very far off; and the Princess Caroline began meditating upon the hatred of her brother "for mama," and the little chance there would be of her obtaining a liberal provision from the new king. The queen was more concerned than she chose to acknowledge, but when gloomy uncertainty was at its highest, a courier whose life had been risked with those of the ship's crew with whom he came over, in order to inform Caroline that her consort had not risked his own, was flung ashore, "miraculously," at Yarmouth, whence hastening to St. James's, he relieved all apprehensions and crushed all aspiring hopes, by the announcement that his majesty had never embarked at all, and was still at Helvoetsluys awaiting fine weather and favoring gales.

The fine weather came, and the wind was fair for bringing the royal wanderer home. It remained so just long enough to induce all the king's anxious subjects to conclude that he had embarked, and then wind and weather became more tempestuous and adverse than they were before. And now people set aside speculation, and confessed to a conviction that his majesty lived only in history. During the former season of doubt, Caroline had solaced herself or wiled away her time by reading *Rollin*, and affecting to make light of all the gloomy reports which were made in her hearing. There was now, however, more cause for alarm. By ones, and twos, and fours, the ships which had left Helvoetsluys with the king were flung upon the English coast, or succeeded in making separate harbors, in a miserably wrecked condition. All the intelligence they brought was, that his majesty had embarked, that they had set sail in company, that an awful hurricane had arisen, that Sir Charles Wager had made signal for every vessel to provide for its own safety, and that the last seen of the royal yacht was that she was tacking, and they only hoped that his majesty *might* have succeeded in getting back to Helvoetsluys. Some in

England echoed that loyally expressed hope; others only desired that the danger intimated by it might have been wrought out to its full end.

Christmas-day at St. James's was the very gloomiest of festive times, and the evening was solemnly spent in round games of cards. The queen, indeed, did not know of the disasters which had happened to the royal fleet; but there was uncertainty enough touching the fate of her royal husband, to make even the reading of Rollin appear more decent than playing at basset and cribbage. Meanwhile, the ministers and court officials stood round the royal table, and discoursed on trivial subjects, while their thoughts were directed towards their storm-tost master. On the following morning, Sir Robert Walpole informed her majesty of the real and graver aspect of affairs. The heart of the tender woman at once melted; and Caroline burst into tears, unrestrainedly. The household of the heir-apparent, on the other hand, began to wear an aspect, as though the wished-for inheritance had at last fallen upon it.

The day was Sunday, and the queen resolved upon attending chapel as usual. Lord Hervey thought her weak in determining to sit up to be stared at. He had no idea that a higher motive might influence a wife in dread uncertainty as to the fate of her husband. Caroline, it is true, was not influenced by any such high motive. She simply did not wish that people should conclude, from her absence, that the sovereign had perished, and she would neglect no duty belonging to her position till she was relieved from it by law. She accordingly appeared at chapel as usual, and in the very midst of the service a letter was delivered to her from the king, in which the much-vexed monarch told her how he had set sail, how the fleet had been scattered, how he had been driven back to Helvoetsluys after beating about for some twenty hours, and how it was all the fault of Sir Charles Wager, who had hurried him on board, on assurance of wind and tide being favorable, and of there being no time to be lost.

The joy of Caroline was honest and unfeigned. She declared that her heart had been heavier that day than ever it had been before; that she was still, indeed, anxious touching the fate of one

whose life was so precious not merely to his family, but to all Europe; and that but for the impatience and indiscretion of Sir Charles Wager, the past great peril would never have been incurred.

The admiral was entirely blameless. The king had deliberately misrepresented the circumstances. It was the royal impatience that had caused all the subsequent peril. The sovereign, weary of waiting for a wind, declared that if the admiral would not sail, he would go over in a packet-boat. Sir Charles maintained he could not. "Be the weather what it may," said the king, "I am not afraid." "*I am*," was the laconic remark of the seaman. George remarked that he wanted to see a storm, and would sooner be twelve hours in one, than be shut up for twenty-four hours more at Helvoetsluys." "Twelve hours in a storm!" cried Sir Charles, "four hours would do your business for you." The admiral would not sail till the wind was fair; and he remarked to the king that although his majesty could compel him to go, "I" said Sir Charles, "can make you come back again." The storm which arose after they *did* set sail, was most terrific in character, and the escape of the voyagers was of the narrowest. The run back to the Dutch coast was not effected without difficulty. On landing, Sir Charles observed, "Sir, you wished to see a storm; how does your majesty like it?" "So well," said the king, "that I never wish to see another." The admiral remarked, in one of his private letters, giving a description of the event, "that his majesty was at present as *tame* as any about him; "an epithet," says Lord Hervey, "that his majesty, had he known it, would, I fancy, have liked, next to the storm, the least of anything that happened to him."

"How is the wind for the king?" was the popular query at the time of this voyage, and the popular answer was, "Like the nation—against him." And when men who disliked him because of *his* vices, or of *their* political hopes, remarked that the sovereign had been saved from drowning, they generally added the comment that "it was God's mercy, and a thousand pities!" The anxiety of Caroline for the king's safety had, no doubt, been very great—so great, that in it she had forgotten sympathy for her daughter in

her hour of trial. Lord Hervey will not allow that the queen had any worthier motive for her anxiety, than her apprehension "of her son's ascending the throne, as there were no lengths she did not think him capable of going to pursue and ruin her."

She comforted herself by declaring that had the worst happened, she still would have retained Lord Hervey in her service, and have given him an apartment in her jointure house, (old) Somerset House. She added, too, that she would have gone down on her knees to beg Sir Robert Walpole to continue to serve the son, as he had done the father. All this is not so self-denying as it seems. In retaining Lord Hervey, whom her son hated, she was securing one of her highest pleasures; and by keeping Sir Robert in the service of the prince, she would have governed the latter as she had done his father.

Gross as the king was in his acts, he was choice and refined, when he chose, in his letters. The epistle which he wrote in reply to the congratulations of the queen on his safety, is elegant, touching, warm, and apparently sincere. "In spite of all the danger I have incurred in this tempest, my dear Caroline, and notwithstanding all I have suffered, having been ill to an excess, which I thought the human body could not bear, I assure you that I would expose myself to it again and again, to have the pleasure of hearing the testimonies of your affection with which my position inspired you. This affection which you testify for me, this friendship, this fidelity, the inexhaustible goodness which you show for me; and the indulgence which you have for all my weaknesses; are so many obligations which I can never sufficiently recompense, can never sufficiently merit, but which I also can never forget." The original French runs more prettily than this, and adapts itself well to the phrases which praised the queen's charms and attractions with all the ardor of youthful swain for blushing nymph. The queen showed the letter to Walpole and Hervey, with the remark that she was reasonably pleased with, but not unreasonably proud of it. The gentlemen came to the conclusion that the master whom they served was the most incomprehensible master to whom service was ever rendered. He was a mere old cajoler, deceiving the woman whom he affected to praise, and only praising her because she

let him have an unconstrained course in vice, while she enjoyed one in power.

At length, after a detention of five weeks at Helvoetsluys, the king arrived at Lowestoffe. The queen received information of his coming, at four o'clock in the morning, after a sleepless night, caused by illness both of mind and body. When Walpole repaired to her at nine the next morning, she was still in bed, and the good Princess Caroline was at her side, trying to read her to sleep. Walpole waited until her majesty had taken some repose; and meanwhile the Prince of Wales and the Princess Amelia (who was distrusted by her brother and by her mother, because she affected to serve each, while she betrayed both), entered into a gossiping sort of conference with him in the antechamber. The prince was all praise, the minister all counsel. Walpole perhaps felt that the heir-apparent, who boasted that when he appeared in public, the people shouted, "*Crown him! Crown him!*" was engaging him to lead the first administration under a new reign. The recent prospect of such a reign being near at hand, had been a source of deep alarm to Caroline, and also of distaste. She would have infinitely preferred that Frederick should have been disinherited, and his brother William advanced to his position as heir-apparent.

The king arrived in town on the 15th of January, 1737. He came in sovereign good-humor; greeted all kindly, was warmly received, and was never tired of expatiating on the admirable qualities of his consort. An observer, indifferently instructed, would not have thought that this contemptible personage had a mistress, who was the object of more ardent homage than he ever paid to that wife, whom he declared to be superior to all the women in the world. He was fervent in his eulogy of her, not only to herself but to Sir Robert Walpole; and indeed was only peevish with those who presumed to inquire after his health. The storm had something shaken him, and he was not able to open parliament in person; but nothing more sorely chafed him than an air of solicitude and inquiry after his condition by loyal servitors,—who got nothing for their pains but the appellation of "puppies." He soon, however, had more serious provocation to contend with.

The friends of the Prince of Wales compelled him, little reluctant, to bring the question of his income before parliament. The threat to take this step alarmed Walpole, by whose advice a message was sent from the king, and delivered by the lords of the council to the prince, whereby the proposal was made to settle upon him the 50,000*l.* a-year which he now received in monthly payments at the king's pleasure, and also to settle a jointure, the amount of which was not named, upon the princess.

Both their majesties were very unwilling to make this proposition, but Walpole assured them that the submitting it to the prince would place his royal highness in considerable difficulty. If he accepted it, the king would get credit for generosity; and if he rejected it, the prince would incur the blame of undutifulness and ingratitude.

The offer was made, but it was neither accepted nor refused. The prince expressed great gratitude, but declared his inability to decide, as the conduct of the measure was in the hands of others, and he could not prevent them from bringing the consideration of it before parliament. The prince's friends, and indeed others besides his friends, saw clearly enough that the king offered no boon. His majesty simply proposed to settle upon his son an annual income amounting to only half of what parliament had granted on the understanding of its being allotted to the prince. The king and queen maintained with equal energy, and not always in the most delicate manner, that the parliament had no more right to interfere with the appropriation of this money than that body had with the allowances made by any father to his son. The rage of the queen was more unrestrained than that of her husband, and she was especially indignant against Walpole for having counselled that an offer should be made, which had failed in its object, and had not prevented the matter being brought before parliament.

The making of it, however, had doubtless some influence upon the members, and helped in a small way to increase the majority in favor of the government. The excitement in the court circle was very great when an address to the king was moved for by Pulteney, suggesting the desirableness of the prince's income being increased. The consequent debate was one of considerable

interest, and was skilfully maintained by the respective adversaries. The prince's advocates were broadly accused of lying, and Caroline, at all times and seasons, in her dressing-room with Lord Hervey, and in the drawing-room with a crowded circle around her, openly and coarsely stigmatized her son as a liar, and his friends as "nasty" Whigs. Great was her joy when, by a majority of 234 to 204, the motion for the address was defeated. There was even congratulation that the victory had cost the king so little in bribes, only 900*l.*, in divisions of 500*l.* to one member and 400*l.* to another. And even this sum was not positive purchase-money of votes for this especial occasion, but money promised to be paid at the end of the session for general service, and only advanced now because of the present particular and well-appreciated assistance rendered.

Let us do the prince the justice to say, that in asking that his income might be doubled, he did not ask that the money should be drawn from the public purse. When Bubb Dodington first advised him to apply to parliament for a grant, his answer was spirited enough. "The people have done quite enough for my family already, and I would rather beg my bread from door to door than be a charge to them." What he asked for was, that out of his father's civil list of nearly a million sterling per annum, he might be provided with a more decent revenue than a beggarly fifty thousand a year, paid at his father's pleasure. Pulteney's motion was denounced by ministers as an infraction of the king's prerogative. Well, Frederick could not get the cash he coveted from the king, and he would not take it from the public. Bubb Dodington had advised him to apply to parliament, and he rewarded Bubb for the hint by easing him occasionally of a few thousands at play. He exulted in winning. "I have just nicked Dodington," said he on one occasion, "out of 5000*l.*, and Bubb has no chance of ever getting it again!"

The battle, however, was not yet concluded. The prince's party resolved to make the same motion in the Lords which had been made in the Commons. The king and queen meanwhile considered that they were released from their engagement, whereby the prince's revenue was to be placed entirely in his own

power. They were also anxious to eject their son from St. James's. Good counsel, nevertheless, prevailed over them to some extent, and they did not proceed to any of the extremities threatened by them. In the meantime, the scene within the palace was one to make a very stoic sigh. The son had daily intercourse with one or both of his parents. He led the queen by the hand to dinner, and she could have stabbed him on the way; for her wrath was more bitter than ever against him, for the reason that he had introduced her name, through his friends, in the parliamentary debate, in a way which she considered must compromise her reputation with the people of England. He had himself declared to the councillors who had brought him the terms of the king's offer, that he had frequently applied through the queen for an interview with the king, at which an amicable arrangement of their differences might be made, but that she had prevented such an interview, by neglecting to make the prince's wishes known to his father. This story was repeated by the prince's friends in parliament, and Caroline called Heaven and earth to witness that her son had grossly and deliberately lied. In this temper the two often sat down to dinner at the same table. As for the king, although Frederick attended the royal levees, and stood near his royal sire, the latter never affected to behold or to consider him as present, and he invariably spoke of him as a brainless, impertinent puppy and scoundrel.*

The motion for the address to the king praying him to confer a jointure on the princess, and to settle 100,000*l.* a-year out of the civil list on the prince, was brought before the House of Peers by Lord Carteret. That nobleman so well served his royal client that, before bringing forward the motion, he made an apology to the queen, declaring that office had been forced on him. The exercise thereof was a decided failure. The Lords rejected the motion, on a division of 103 to 40, the majority making strong protest against the division of the house, and in very remarkable language. The latter did not trouble their majesties, and this

* These matters will be found detailed at great length, in Lord Hervey's Memoirs.

settling of the question even helped to restore Sir Robert Walpole to the royal favor, from which he had temporarily fallen.

There was another public affair which gave the queen as much perplexity as any of her domestic troubles. This was the investigation into the matter of the Porteous riot at Edinburgh, with the object of punishing those who were most to blame. It is not necessary to detail this matter at any length, or indeed further than the queen was personally connected with it. She was exceedingly desirous that it should be decided on its merits, and that it should not be made a national matter of. On this account, she was especially angry with the Duke of Newcastle, on whom she laid the blame of having very unnecessarily dragged up to London such respectable men as the Scotch judges; and she asked him "What the devil he meant by it?" While the affair was still pending, but after the judges had been permitted to go back again, the queen remarked to Lord Hervey, "she should be glad to know the truth, but believed she should never come at it—whether the Scotch judges had been really to blame or not in the trial of Captain Porteous: for, between you and the Bishop of Salisbury" (Sherlock), said she, "who each of you convinced me by turns, I am as much in the dark as if I knew nothing at all of the matter. He comes and tells me that they are all as black as devils; you, that they are as white as snow; and whoever speaks last, I believe. I am like that judge you talk of so often in the play (Gripus,* I think you call him), that after one side had spoken begged t'others might hold their tongue, for fear of puzzling what was clear to him. I am Queen Gripus; and since the more I hear the more I am puzzled, I am resolved I will hear no more about it; but let them be in the right or the wrong, I own to you I am glad they are gone." The city of Edinburgh was ultimately punished by the deposition of its provost, Mr. Wilson, who was declared incapable of ever serving his majesty; and by the imposition of a fine of two thousand pounds—not "Scots," but sterling. The "mulct" was to go the "cook-maid widow of Captain Porteous, and make her, with most unconjugal joy, bless the hour in which her husband was hanged."†

* In "Amphitryon." † Lord Hervey.

The conduct of Caroline, when Sir John Bernard proposed to to reduce the interest on the National Debt from four to three per cent., again presents her to us in a very unfavorable light. Not only the queen, but the king also was most energetically opposed to the passing of the bill. People conjectured that their majesties were large fundholders, and were reluctant to lose a quarter of the income thence arising for the good of the nation. The bill was ultimately thrown out, chiefly through the opposition of Walpole. By this decision, the House stultified its own previously accorded permission (by 220 to 157) for the introduction of the bill. Horace Walpole, the brother of Sir Robert, was one of those who voted first for and then against the bill—or first against, and then for his brother. We must once more draw from Lord Hervey's graphic pages to show what followed at Court upon such a course:—"Horace Walpole, though his brother made him vote against the three per cent., did it with so ill a grace, and talked against his own conduct so strongly and so frequently to the queen, that her majesty held him at present in little more esteem or favor than the Duke of Newcastle. She told him that because he had some practice in treaties, and was employed in foreign affairs, that he began to think he understood everything better than anybody else; and that it was really quite new his setting himself up to understand the revenue, money matters, and the House of Commons better than his brother! 'Oh, what are you all but a rope of sand that would crumble away in little grains, one after another, if it was not for him?' And whenever Horace had been with her, speaking on these subjects, besides telling Lord Hervey when he came to see her, how like an opinionated fool Horace had talked before them, she used to complain of his silly laugh hurting her ears, and his dirty, sweaty body offending her nose, as if she had never had the two senses of hearing and smelling in all her acquaintance with poor Horace, till he had talked for three per cent. Sometimes she used to cough and pretend to retch, as if she were ready to vomit with talking of his dirt; and would often bid Lord Hervey open the window, to purify the room of the stink Horace had left behind him, and call pages to burn sweets to get it out of the hangings. She told Lord Hervey she believed Horace had a hand in the

'Craftsman,' for that once, warmed in disputing on this three per cent affair, he had more than hinted to her that he guessed her reason for being so zealous against this scheme was her having money in the stocks."

When such coarseness was common at court, we need not be surprised that dramatic authors, whose office it is to hold the mirror up to nature, should have attempted to make some reflection thereon, or to take license therefrom, and give additional coarseness to the stage. Walpole's virtuous indignation was excited at this liberty—a liberty taken only because people in his station, and far above his station, by their vices and coarseness, justified the license. It was this vice, and not the vices of dramatic authors, which first fettered the drama, and established a censorship. The latter was set up, not because the stage was wicked, but in order that it should not satirize the wickedness of those in high station. The queen was exceedingly delighted to see a gag put upon both Thalia and Melpomene.

The vice was hideous. They who care to stir the offensive mass will find proof enough of this hideousness in the account given by Lady Deloraine, the wife of Mr. Windham, of the king's courtship of her, and his consequent temporary oblivion of Madame Walmoden. This new rival of the queen, a charming doll thirty-five years of age, was wooed by the king in a strain which the stage would hardly have reproduced; and his suit was commented upon by the lady, in common conversation with lords and ladies, with an unctuousness of phrase, a licentiousness of manner, and a coolness of calculation, such as would have disgraced the most immodest of women. This coarseness of sentiment and expression was equally common. When it was said that Lord Cartaret was writing a history of his times, and that noble author himself alleged that he was engaged in "giving fame to the queen," the latter, one morning, noticed the alleged fact to Lord Hervey. The king was present, and his majesty remarked:—"I dare say he will paint you in fine colors, the dirty liar." "Why not?" asked Caroline, "good things come out of dirt sometimes. I have ate very good asparagus raised out of dung?" When it was said that not only Lord Cartaret, but that Lords Bolingbroke and Chesterfield were

also engaged in writing the history of their times, the queen critically anticipated, "that all the three histories would be three heaps of lies; but lies of very different kinds; she said Bolingbroke's would be great lies; Chesterfield's little lies; and Cartaret's lies of both sorts." * It may be added, that where there were vice and coarseness, there was little respect for justice, or for independence of conduct. The placeman who voted according to his conscience, when he found his conscience in antagonism against the court, was invariably removed from his place.

In concluding this chapter, it may be stated that when Frederick was about to bring forward the question of his revenue, the queen would fain have had an interview with the son she alternately despised and feared, to persuade him against pursuing this measure,—the carrying out of which she dreaded as prejudicial to the king's health in his present enfeebled state. Caroline, however, would not see her son, for the reason, as the mother alleged, that he was such an incorrigible liar that he was capable of making any mendacious report of the interview, even of her designing to murder him. She had, in an interview with him, at the time of the agitation connected with the Excise Bill, been compelled to place the Princess Caroline, concealed, within hearing, that she might be a witness in case of the prince, her brother, misrepresenting what had really taken place.

When the king learned the prince's intentions, he took the matter much more coolly than the queen. Several messengers, however, passed between the principal parties, but nothing was done in the way of turning the prince from his purpose. It was an innocent purpose enough, indeed, as he represented it. The parliament had intrûsted to the king 100,000*l.* a year for the prince's use. The king and queen did not so understand it, and he simply applied to parliament to solicit that august body to put an interpretation on its own act.

The supposed debilitated condition of the king's health gave increased hopes to the prince's party. The queen, therefore, induced him to hold levees and appear more frequently in public. His

* Lord Hervey.

improvement in health and good humor was a matter of disappointment to those who wished him dying, and feared to see him grow popular.

The animosity of the queen and her daughter, the Princess Caroline, was almost unnaturally ferocious. * The mother cursed the day on which she had borne the son who was for ever destroying her peace, and would end, she said, by destroying her life. There was no opprobrious epithet which she did not cast at him, and they who surrounded the queen and princess had the honor of daily hearing them hope that God would strike the son and brother dead with apoplexy. Such enmity seems to us now incredible, and even in the days here treated of, it could not have been common, nor agreeable to those who witnessed it. The gentle princess Caroline's gentlest name for her brother was "that nauseous beast," and in running over the catalogue of crimes of which she declared him capable, if not actually guilty, she did not hesitate to say that he was capable of murdering even those whom he caressed. Never was family circle so blasted by dissension as this royal circle, in which the parents hated the son, the son the parents; the parents deceived one another, the husband betrayed the wife, the wife deluded the husband, the children were at mutual antagonism, and truth was a stranger to all.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BIRTH OF AN HEIRESS.

THE parliament having passed a land tax bill of two shillings in the pound, exempted the Prince of Wales from contributing even the usual sixpence in the pound on his civil list revenue, and settled a dowry on his wife of 50,000*l.* per annum, peremptorily

* To what extent it was so, can only be understood by those who peruse the memoirs of this Court by Lord Hervey. What we have said can but convey a faint idea of the reality, as described in the volumes of the queen's vice-chamberlain.

rejected Sir John Barnard's motion for decreasing the taxation which weighed most heavily on the poor.* The public found matter for much speculation in these circumstances, and they alternately discussed them with the subject of the aggressive ambition of Russia. The latter power was then invading the Crimea with two armies under Munich and Lasci. Then as now, the occupier of the Muscovite throne stooped to mendacity to veil the real object of the war; and then as now, there were Russian officers not ashamed to be assassins,—murdering the wounded foe whom they found lying helpless on their path.†

The interest in all home and foreign matters, however, was speedily lost in that which the public took in the matter, which soon presented itself, of the accession of an heir in the direct hereditary line of Brunswick.

The prospect of the birth of a lineal heir to the throne ought to have been one of general joy in a family whose own possession of the crown was contested by the disinherited heir of the Stuart line. The prospect brought no joy with it on the present occasion. It was not till within a month of the time for the event, that the Prince of Wales officially announced to his father, on the best possible authority, the probability of the event itself. Caroline appears at once to have disbelieved the announcement. She was so desirous of the succession falling to her second son William, that she made no scruple of expressing her disbelief of what, to most other observers, was apparent enough. She questioned the princess herself, with more closeness than even the position of a mother-in-law could justify, but for every query the well-trained Augusta had one stereotyped reply, "I don't know." Caroline, on her side, resolved to be better instructed. "I will positively be present," she exclaimed, "when the promised event takes place;" adding with her usual broadness of illustration, "It can't be got through so soon as one can blow one's nose; and I am resolved to be satisfied that the child is hers."

* Salmon's Chronological Historian.

† Suwarrow's Military Catechism contains the atrocious hint, that a wounded foeman may become a dangerous enemy.

These suspicions, of which the queen made no secret, were of course well known to her son. He was offended by them; offended, too, at a peremptory order that the birth of the expected heir should take place in Hampton Court Palace; and he was, moreover, stirred up by his political friends to exhibit his own independence, and to oppose the royal wish, in order to show that he had a proper spirit of freedom.

Accordingly, twice he brought the princess to London, and twice returned with her to Hampton Court. Each time the journey had been undertaken on symptoms of indisposition coming on, which, however, passed away. At length one evening, the prince and princess, after dining in public with the king and queen, took leave of them for the night, and withdrew to their apartments. Up to this hour the princess had appeared to be in her ordinary health. Tokens of a supervening change came on, and the prince at once prepared for action. The night (the 31st of July,) was now considerably advanced, and the Princess of Wales, who had been hitherto eager to obey her husband's wishes in all things, was now too ill to do anything but pray against them. He would not listen to such petitions. He ordered his "coach" to be got ready and brought round to a side entrance of the palace. The lights in the apartment were in the meantime extinguished. He consigned his wife to the strong arms of Desnoyers, the dancing-master, and Bloodworth an attendant, who dragged, rather than carried, her down stairs. In the meantime, the poor lady, whose life was in very present peril, and sufferings extreme, prayed earnestly to be permitted to remain where she was. Subsequently, she protested to the queen that all that had been done had taken place at her own express desire! However this may be, the prince answered her prayers and moans by calling on her to have courage; upbraiding her for her folly; and assuring her, with a very manly complacency, that it was nothing, and would soon be over! At length, the coach was reached. It was the usually capacious vehicle of the time, and into it got not only the prince and princess, but Lady Archibald Hamilton, and two female attendants. Vriad, who was not only a valet-de-chambre, but a surgeon and *accoucheur*, mounted the box. Bloodworth, the dancing-master, and two or

three more, got up behind. The prince enjoined the strictest silence on such of his household as remained at Hampton Court, and therewith the coach set off, at a gallop, not for the prince's own residence at Kew, but for St. James's Palace, which was at twice the distance.

At the palace nothing was prepared for them. There was not a couch ready for the exhausted lady, who had more than once on the road been, as it seemed, upon the point of expiring,—there was not even a bed ready for her to lie down and repose upon. There were no sheets to be found in the whole palace,—or at least in that part of it over which the prince had any authority. For lack of them, Frederick and Lady Hamilton aired a couple of table-cloths, and these did the service required of them.

In the meantime, notice had been sent to several officers of state, and to the more necessary assistants required, to be present at the imminent event. The most of the great officers were out of the way. In lieu of them arrived the Lord President, Wilmington; and the Lord Privy Seal, Godolphin. In their presence was born a daughter whom Lord Hervey designated as "a little rat," and described as being "no bigger than a tooth-pick case."

Perhaps it was the confusion which reigned before and at her birth, which had some influence on her intellects in after life. She was an extremely pretty child, not without some mental qualifications, but she became remarkable for making observations which inflicted pain or embarrassment on those to whom they were addressed. In after years, she also became the mother of that Caroline of Brunswick who herself made confusion worse confounded in the family into which she was received as a member;—that Caroline whom we recollect as the consort of George IV. and the protectress of Baron Bergami.

But this is once more anticipating events. Let us return to Hampton Court, where the king and queen, concluding that their dear son and heir had, with his consort, relieved his illustrious parents of his undesired presence for the night, thought of nothing so little as of that son having taken it into his head to perform a trick which might have been fittingly accompanied by the Beggars' Opera chorus of "Hurrah for the Road!"

No comedy has such a scene as that enacted at Hampton Court on this night. While the prince was carrying off the princess, despite all her agonizing entreaties, the whole royal family were quietly amusing themselves in another part of the palace, unconscious of what was passing. The king and the Princess Amelia were at *commerce*, below stairs: the queen, in another apartment, was at quadrille; and the Princess Caroline and Lord Hervey were soberly playing at cribbage. They separated at ten, and were all in bed by eleven, perfectly ignorant of what had been going on so near them.

At a little before two o'clock in the morning, Mrs. Tichborne entered the royal bed-chamber, when the queen waking in alarm, asked her if the palace was on fire. The faithful servant intimated that the prince had just sent word that her royal highness was on the point of becoming a mother. A courier had just arrived, in fact, with the intelligence. The queen leaped out of bed and called for her "morning gown," wherein to hurry to the room of her daughter-in-law. When Tichborne intimated that she would need a coach as well as a gown, for that her royal highness had been carried off to St. James's, the queen's astonishment and indignation were equally great. On the news being communicated to the king, his surprise and wrath were not less than the queen's, but he did not fail to blame his consort as well as his son. She had allowed herself to be out-witted, he said; a false child would despoil her own offspring of their rights; and this was the end of all her boasted care and management for the interests of her son William! He hoped that Anne would come from Holland and scold her. "You deserve," he exclaimed, "anything she can say to you." The queen answered little, lest it should impede her in her haste to reach London. In half an hour she had left the palace accompanied by her two daughters, and attended by two ladies and three noblemen. The party reached St. James's by four o'clock.

As they ascended the staircase, Lord Hervey invited her majesty to take chocolate in his apartments, after she had visited the princess. The queen replied to the invitation "with a wink," and a significant intimation that she certainly would refuse to

accept of any refreshment at the hands of her son. One would almost suppose that she expected to be poisoned by him.

The prince attired, according to the hour, in nightgown and cap, met his august mother as she approached his apartments, and kissed her hand and cheek, according to the mode of his country and times. He then entered garrulously into details that would have shocked the delicacy of a monthly-nurse, but as Caroline remarked, she knew a good many of them to be "lies." She was cold and reserved to the prince, but when she approached the bedside of the princess, she spoke to her gently and kindly,—womanly in short; and concluded by expressing a fear that her royal highness had suffered extremely, and a hope that she was now doing well. The lady so sympathizingly addressed, answered somewhat flippantly, that she had scarcely suffered anything, and that the matter in question was almost nothing at all. Caroline transferred her sympathy from the young mother to her new-born child. The latter was put into the queen's arms. She looked upon it silently for a moment, and then exclaimed in French, her ordinary language, "May the good God bless you, poor little creature; here you are arrived in a most disagreeable world." The wish failed, but the assertion was true. The "poor little creature" was cursed with a long tenure of life, during which she saw her husband deprived of his inheritance, heard of his violent death, and participated in family sorrow, heavy and undeserved.

After pitying the daughter thus born, and commiserating the mother who bore her, Caroline was condemned to listen to the too minute details of the journey and its incidents, made by her son. She turned from these to shower her indignation upon those who had aided in the flight, and without whose succor the flight itself could hardly have been accomplished. She directed her indignation by turns upon all, but she let it descend with peculiar heaviness upon Lady Archibald Hamilton, and made it all the more pungent by the comment, that, considering Lady Archibald's mature age, and her having been the mother of ten children, she had years enough, and experience enough, and offspring enough, to have taught her better things, and greater wisdom. To all these winged words, the lady attacked answered no further than

by turning to the prince, and repeating, "You see, sir!" as though she would intimate that she had done all she could to turn him from the evil of his ways, and had gained only unmerited reproach for the exercise of a virtue, which, in this case, was likely to be its own and its only reward!

The prince was again inclined to become gossiping and offensive in his details, but his royal mother cut him short by bidding him get to bed; and with this message by way of farewell, she left the room, descended the staircase, crossed the court on foot, and proceeded to Lord Hervey's apartments, where there awaited her gossip more welcome, and very superior chocolate.

Over their "cups," right merry were the queen and her gallant vice-chamberlain, at the extreme folly of the royal son. They were too merry for Caroline to be indignant, further than her indignation could be shown by designating her son by the very rudest possible of names, and showing her contempt for all who had helped him in the night's escapade. She acknowledged her belief that no foul play had taken place, chiefly because the child was a daughter. This circumstance was in itself no proof of the genuineness of the little lady, for if Frederick had been desirous of setting aside his brother William, his mother's favorite, from all hope of succeeding to the throne, the birth of a daughter was quite as sufficient for the purpose as that of a son.* The queen comforted herself by remarking that, at all events, the trouble she had taken that night was not gratuitous. It would at least, as she delicately remarked, be a "good grimace for the public," who would contrast her parental anxiety with the marital cruelty and the filial undutifulness of the Prince of Wales.

While this genial pair were thus enjoying their chocolate and gossip, the two princesses, and two or three of the noblemen in attendance, were doing the same in an adjoining apartment. Meanwhile Walpole had arrived, and had been closeted with the prince, who again had the supreme felicity of narrating to the unwilling listener all the incidents of the journey, in telling which he, in fact, gave to the minister the opportunity which Gyges was

* Hervey makes this remark, but it was originally made by Walpole.

afforded by Candaules, or something very like it, and for which Frederick merited, if not the fate of the heathen husband, at least the next severe penalty short of it.

The sun was up long before the royal and illustrious party dispersed. The busy children of industry, who saw the queen and her equipage sweep by them along the Western Road, must have been perplexed with attempts at guessing at the causes of her majesty being so early abroad, in so way-worn a guise. The last thing they could then have conjectured was the adventure of the night;—the scene at Hampton Court, the flight of the son with his wife, the pursuit of the royal mother with her two daughters, the occurrence at St. James's—or, indeed, any of the incidents of the stirring drama that had been played out.

From the hour when royalty had been suddenly aroused, to that at which the queen arrived at Hampton Court Palace, eight in the morning, George II. had troubled himself as little with conjecturing, as his subjects. When the queen detailed to him all that had passed, he poured out the usual amount of paternal wrath;—and of the usual quality. He never was nice of epithet, and least of all when he had any to bestow upon his son. It was not spared now, and what was most liberally given was most bitter of quality.

Meanwhile, both prince and princess addressed to their majesties explanatory notes in French, which explained nothing, and which, as far as regards the prince's notes, were in poor French, and worse spelling. Everything, of course, had been done for the best; and the sole regret of the younger couple was, that they had somehow, they could not devise how, or wherefore, incurred the displeasure of the king and queen. To be restored to the good opinion of the latter, was of course the one object of the involuntary offenders' lives. In short, they had had their way, and having enjoyed that exquisite felicity, they were not reluctant to pretend that they were extremely penitent for what had passed.

The displeasure of Caroline and her consort at the unfeeling conduct of Frederick, was made known to him neither in a sudden nor an undignified way. It was not till the 10th of September that it may be said to have been officially conveyed to him. On

that day the king and queen sent a message to him from Hampton Court, by the Dukes of Grafton and Richmond, and the Earl of Pembroke, who faithfully acquitted themselves of their unwelcome commission at St. James's. The message was to the effect, that "the whole tenor of the prince's conduct for a considerable time had been so entirely void of all real duty, that their majesties had long had reason to be highly offended with him; and, until he withdrew his regard and confidence from those by whose instigation and advice he was directed and encouraged in his unwarrantable behavior to his majesty and the queen; and until he should return to his duty, he should not reside in a palace belonging to the king, which his majesty would not suffer to be the resort of those who, under the appearance of an attachment to the prince, fomented the divisions which he had made in his family, and thereby weakened the common interest of the whole." Their majesties further made known their pleasure, that "the prince should leave St. James's, with all his family when it could be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princess." His majesty added, that "he should, for the present, leave the care of his granddaughter until a proper time called upon him to consider of her education." In consequence of this message, the prince removed to Kew on the 14th September.

The king and queen, now, not only treated their son with extraordinary severity, and spoke of him in the coarsest possible language, but they treated in like manner all who were suspected of aiding and counselling him. Their wrath was especially directed against Lord Carteret, who had at first deceived them. That noble lord censured, in their hearing, a course of conduct in the prince which he had himself suggested, and, in the hearing of the heir-apparent, never failed to praise. When their majesties discovered this double dealing, and that an attempt was being made to convince the people that in the matter of the birth of the princess-royal, the queen alone was to blame for all the disagreeable incidents attending it, their anger was extreme. The feeling for Lord Carteret was shown when Lord Hervey one day spoke of him with some commiseration,—his son having run away from school, and there being no intelligence of him, except that he had formed a

very improper marriage. "Why do you pity him?" said the king to Lord Hervey; "I think it is a very just punishment, that, while he is acting the villanous part he does in debauching the minds of other people's children, he should feel a little what it is to have an undutiful puppy of a son himself!"

Fierce, indeed, was the family feud, and undignified as fierce. The princess Amelia is said to have taken as double-sided a line of conduct as Lord Carteret himself; for which she incurred the ill will of both parties. The prince declared not only that he never would trust her again, but that, should he ever be reconciled with the king and queen, his first care should be to inform them that she had never said so much harm of him to them, as she had of them to him. The Princess Caroline was the more fierce a partisan of the mother whom she loved, from the fact that she saw how her brother was endeavoring to direct the public feeling against the queen. She was, however, as little dignified in her fierceness as the rest of her family. On one occasion, as Desnoyers the dancing master had concluded his lesson to the young princesses, and was about to return to the prince, who made of him a constant companion, the Princess Caroline bade him inform his patron, if the latter should ever ask him what was thought of his conduct by her, that it was her opinion that he and all who were with him, except the Princess of Wales, deserved hanging. Desnoyers delivered the message, with the assurances of respect given by one who acquits himself of a disagreeable commission to one whom he regards. "How did the prince take it?" asked Caroline, when next Desnoyers appeared at Hampton Court. "Well, madam," said the dancing master, "he first spat in the fire, and then observed, "Ah, ah! Desnoyers; you know the way of that Caroline. That is just like her. She is always like that!" "Well, M. Desnoyers," remarked the princess, "when next you see him again, tell him that I think his observation is as foolish as his conduct." *

The exception made by the Princess Caroline of the Princess of Wales, in the censure distributed by the former, was not unde-

* Those who are fond of further, and of fuller, details of domestic broils, like the above, are referred, once more, to the pages of Hervey.

served. She was the mere tool of her husband, who made no confidante of her, had not yet appreciated her, and kept her in the most complete ignorance of all that was happening around her, and much of which immediately concerned her. He used to speak of the office of wife in the very coarsest terms; and did not scruple to declare that he would not be such a fool as his father was, who allowed himself to be ruled and deceived by his consort.

In the meantime, he treated his mother with mingled contempt and hypocrisy. When, nine days after the birth of the little Princess Augusta, the queen and her two daughters again visited the Princess of Wales, the prince, who met her at the door of the bedchamber, never uttered a single word during the period his mother remained in the room.

He was as silent to his sisters; but he was "the agreeable Rattle" with the members of the royal suite. The queen remained an hour; and when she remarked that she was afraid she was troublesome, no word fell from the prince or princess to persuade her to the contrary. When the royal carriage had arrived to conduct her away, her son led her down stairs, and at the coach door, "to make the mob believe that he was never wanting in any respect, he kneeled down in the dirty street, and kissed her hand. As soon as this operation was over, he put her majesty into the coach, and then returned to the steps of his own door, leaving his sisters to get through the dirt and the mob by themselves as they could. Nor did there come to the queen any message, either from the prince or princess, to thank her afterwards for the trouble she had taken, or for the honor she had done them in this visit." This was the last time the mother and son met in this world. Horace Walpole has committed a slight anachronism in antedating the scene, but of it he well observes, that it must have caused the queen's indignation to shrink into mere contempt."*

The queen's wrath never subsided beyond a cold expression of forgiveness to the prince, when she was on her death-bed. But she resolutely refused to see him when that solemn hour arrived, a few months subsequently. She was blamed for this; but her

* Reminiscences of the Courts of George the First and Second.

contempt was too deeply rooted to allow her to act otherwise to one who had done all he could to embitter the peace of his father. She sent to him, it is said, her blessing and pardon;—"but conceiving the extreme distress it would lay on the king, should he thus be forced to forgive so impenitent a son, or to banish him if once recalled, she heroically preferred a meritorious husband, to a worthless child." *

Had the prince been sincere in his expressions when addressing either of his parents, by letter, after the delivery of his wife, it is not impossible but that a reconciliation might have followed. His studied disrespect towards the queen was, however, too strongly marked to allow of this conclusion to the quarrel. He invariably omitted to speak of her as "your majesty;" *Madam*, and *you*, were the simple and familiar terms employed by him. Indeed, he had once told her that he considered that the Prince of Wales took precedence of the queen-consort; at which Caroline would contemptuously laugh, and assure her "dear Fritz" that he need not press the point, for even if she were to die, the king could not marry *him!*

It was for mere annoyance' sake that he declared, at the end of August, after the christening of his daughter, that she should not be called the "Princess Augusta," but the "Lady Augusta," according to the old English fashion. At the same time he declared that she should be styled "Your Royal Highness," although such style had never been used towards his own sisters, before their father's accession to the crown.

It will hardly be thought necessary to go through the documentary history of what passed between the sovereigns and their son, before he was finally ejected from St. James's Palace. Wrong as he was in this quarrel, "Fritz" kept a better temper, though with as bitter a spirit as his parents. On the 13th of September, the day before that fixed on for the prince's departure, "the queen, at breakfast, every now and then repeated, *I hope in God I shall never see him again*; and the king, among many other paternal douceurs in his valediction to his son, said: Thank God, to-morrow

* Lord Hervey.

night the puppy will be out of my house." The queen thought her son would rather like, than otherwise, the being made a martyr of; but it was represented to her, that however much it might have suited him to be made one politically, there was more disgrace to him personally in the present expulsion than he would like to digest. The king maintained that his son had not sense of his own to find this out; and that as he listened only to boobies, fools, and madmen, he was not likely to have his case truly represented to him. And then the king ran through the list of his son's household; and Lord Carnarvon was set down as being as coxcombical and irate a fool as his master; Lord Townshend, for a proud, surly booby; Lord North, as a poor creature; Lord Baltimore, as a trimmer; and "Johnny Lumley," (the brother of Lord Scarborough,) as, if nothing else, at least "a stuttering puppy." Such, it is said, were the followers of a prince, of whom his royal mother remarked, that he was "a mean fool," and "a poor-spirited beast."

While this discussion was at its hottest, the queen fell ill of the gout. She was so unwell, so weary of being in bed, and so desirous of chatting with Lord Hervey, that she now for the first time broke through the court etiquette, which would not admit a man, save the sovereign, into the royal bed-chamber. The noble lord was with her there, during the whole day of each day that her confinement lasted. She was too old, she said, to have the honor of being talked of for it; and so, to suit her humor, the old ceremony was dispensed with. Lord Hervey sate by her bed-side, gossiped the live-long day; and on one occasion, when the Prince of Wales sent Lord North with a message of inquiry after her health, he amused the queen by turning the message into very slip-shod verse, the point of which is at once obscure and ill-natured, but which seems to imply that the prince would have been well content, had the gout, instead of being in her foot, attacked her stomach.

The prince had been guilty of no such indecency as this; but there was no lack of provocation to make him commit himself. When he was turned out of St. James's, he was not permitted to take with him a single article of furniture. The royal excuse was, that the furniture had been purchased, on the prince's marriage, at the king's cost, and was his majesty's property. It was suggested,

that sheets ought not to be considered as furniture; and that the prince and princess could not be expected to carry away their dirty linen in baskets. "Why not?" asked the king, "it is good enough for them!"

Such were the petty circumstances with which Caroline and her consort troubled themselves at the period in question. They at once hurt their own dignity, and made their son look ridiculous. The great partisan of the latter (Lord Baltimore) did not rescue his master from ridicule by comparing his conduct to that of the heroic Charles XII. of Sweden. But the comparison was one to be expected from a man whom the king had declared to be in a great degree, a booby, and in a trifling degree, mad.

As soon as the prince had established himself at Kew, he was waited on by Lord Cartaret, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr. Pulteney. The king could not conceal his anger under an affected contempt of these persons or of their master. He endeavored to satisfy himself by abusing the latter, and by remarking that "they would be soon tired of the puppy, who was, moreover, a scoundrel and a fool; and who would talk more fiddle-faddle to them in a day than any old woman talks in a week."

The prince continued to address letters both to the king and queen, full of affected concern, expressed in rather impertinent phrases. The princess addressed others, in which she sought to justify her husband's conduct; but as in all these notes there was a studied disrespect of Caroline, the king would neither consent to grant an audience to the offenders, nor would the queen interfere to induce him to relent.

The queen, indeed, did not scruple to visit with her displeasure all those courtiers who showed themselves inclined to bring about a reconciliation; and yet she manifested some leaning towards Lord Cartaret, the chief agent of her son. This disposition alarmed Walpole, who took upon himself to remind her, that *her* minister could serve her purpose better than her son's, and that it was of the utmost importance that she should conquer in this strife. "Is your son to be bought?" said Walpole. "If you will buy him, I will get him cheaper than Cartaret." Caroline answered only with "a flood of grace, good words, favor, and professions," of having

[illegible] confidence in her own minister, that is, Walpole himself, who [illegible] served her so long and so faithfully.

A trait of Caroline's character may here be mentioned, as indicative of how she could help to build up her own reputation for shrewdness by using the materials of others. Sir Robert Walpole, in conversation with Lord Hervey, gave him some account of an interview he had had with the queen. The last-named gentleman believed all the great minister had told him, because the queen herself had, in speaking of the subject to Lord Hervey, used the precise terms now employed by Walpole. The subject was the lukewarmness of some of the noblemen about court to serve the king: the expression used was,—"People who keep hounds must not hang every one that runs a little slower than the rest, provided, in the main, they will go with the pack: one must not expect them all to run just alike, and to be equally good." Hervey told Walpole of the use made by the queen of this phrase, and Sir Robert naturally enough remarked, "He was always glad when he heard she repeated as her own any notion he had endeavored to infuse, because it was a sign what he had labored had taken place."

Meanwhile the prince was of himself doing little that could tend to any thing else than widen the breach already existing between him and his family. He spoke aloud of what he would do when he came to be king. His intentions, as reported by Caroline, were, that she, when she was queen-dowager, should be "fleeced, flayed, and [illegible]." The Princess Amelia was to be kept in strict confinement, the Princess Caroline left to starve; of the little princesses Mary and Louisa, then about fourteen and thirteen years of age, he made no mention; and of his brother, the Duke of [illegible], he always spoke "with great affectation of kindness."

Despite his imprudent conduct, endeavors continued to be made [illegible] and his friends, in order to bring about the reconciliation [illegible] seemed very sincere in desiring. The Duke of [illegible] implored the Princess Amelia, "For God's sake!" [illegible] to persuade the queen to make things up with [illegible] this affair was pushed to an extremity that might [illegible]." The queen is said to have been ex- [illegible] with the Duke of Newcastle for thus interfering

in the matter. The Princess of Wales, however, continued to write hurried, and apparently earnest, notes to the queen, thanking her for her kindness in standing godmother to her daughter, treating her with "your majesty," and especially defending her own husband, while affecting to deplore that his conduct, misrepresented, had incurred the displeasure of their majesties:—"I am deeply afflicted," so runs a note of the 17th of September, "at the manner in which the prince's conduct has been represented to your majesties, especially with regard to the two journeys which we made from Hampton Court to London, the week previous to my confinement. I dare assure your majesties, that the medical man, and midwife, were then of opinion, that I should not be confined before the month of September, and that the indisposition of which I complained was nothing more than the colic. And besides, madam, is it credible, that if I had gone twice to London, with the design, and in the expectation, of being confined there, I should have returned to Hampton Court. I flatter myself that time, and the good offices of your majesty, will bring about a happy change in a situation of affairs, the more deplorable for me, inasmuch as I am the innocent cause of it." &c. &c.

This letter, delivered as the king and queen were going to chapel, was sent by the latter to Walpole, who repaired to the royal closet, in the chapel, where Caroline asked him what he thought of this last performance? The answer was very much to the purpose. Sir Robert said, he detected, "you lie, you lie, you lie, from one end of it to the other." Caroline agreed that the lie was flung at her by the writer.

There was as much discussion touching the reply, which should be sent to this grievously offending note, as if it had been a protocol of the very first importance. One was for having it smart, another formal, another so shaped that it should kindly treat the princess as blameless, and put an end to further correspondence, with some general wishes as to the future conduct of "Fritz." This was done, and the letter was dispatched. What effect it had upon the conduct and person alluded to, may be discerned in the fact, that when, on Thursday, the 22d of September, the prince and princess received at Carlton House, the lord mayor and corpo-

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Despite this imprudent conduct, endeavors continued to be made by the prince and his friends, in order to bring about the reconciliation which nobody seemed very sincere in desiring. The Duke of Newcastle had implored the Princess Amelia, "For God's sake!" to do her utmost "to persuade the queen to make things up with the prince, before this affair was pushed to an extremity that might make the wound incurable." The queen is said to have been exceedingly displeased with the Duke of Newcastle for thus interfering

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poration of London, with an address of congratulation on the birth of the Princess Augusta, the lords of the prince's present council distributed to every body in the room copies of the king's message to the prince, ordering him to quit St. James's, and containing reflections against all persons who might even visit the prince. The lords, particularly the Duke of Marlborough, and Lords Chesterfield and Cartaret, deplored the oppression under which the Prince of Wales struggled. His Highness also spoke to the citizens in terms calculated, certainly intended to win their favor.

He did not acquire all the popular favor he expected. Thus when, during the repairs at Carlton House, he occupied the residence of the Duke of Norfolk, in St. James's-square—a residence which the duke and duchess refused to let to him, until they had obtained the sanction of the king and queen—"he reduced the number of his inferior servants, which made him many enemies among the lower sort of people." He also diminished his stud, and "farmed all his tables, even that of the princess and himself." In other words, his tables were supplied by a cook at so much per head. This fashion was common enough with several of the Russian Czars.

His position was one, however, which was sure to procure for him a degree of popularity, irrespective of his real merits. The latter, however, were not great nor numerous, and even his own officers considered their interests far before those of him they served—or deserted. At the theatre, however, he was the popular hero of the hour, and when once, on being present at the representation of "Cato," * the words—

> When vice prevails and impious men bear sway,
> The post of honor is a private station,—

were received with loud huzzas, the prince joined in the applause, to show how he appreciated, and perhaps applied, the lines.

Although the king's alleged oppression towards his son was publicly canvassed by the latter, the prince and his followers invariably named the queen as the true author of it. The latter, in

* Quin played the hero.

commenting on this filial course, constantly sacrificed her dignity. "My dear lord," said Caroline, once to Lord Hervey, "I will give it you under my hand, if you have any fear of my relapsing, that my dear first-born is the greatest ass, and the greatest liar, and the greatest *canaille*, and the greatest beast, in the whole world, and that I most heartily wish he was out of it!" The king continued to treat him in much the same strain, adding courteously, that he had often asked the queen, if the beast were his son. "The queen was a great while," said he, "before her maternal affection would give him up for a fool, and yet I told her so before he had been acting as if he had no common sense." While so hard upon the conduct of their son, an entry from Lord Hervey's diary will show us what was their own: the king's with regard to decency, the queen's with respect to truth.

While the queen was talking one morning, touching George the First's will, and other family matters, with Lord Hervey, "The king opened her door at the further end of the gallery; upon which the queen chid Lord Hervey for coming so late, saying, that she had several things to say to him, and that he was always so long in coming, after he was sent for, that she never had any time to talk with him. To which Lord Hervey replied, that it was not his fault, for that he always came the moment he was called; that he wished, with all his heart, the king had more love, or Lady Deloraine more wit, that he might have more time with her majesty; but that he thought it very hard that he should be snubbed and reproved because the king was old and Lady Deloraine a fool. This made the queen laugh, and the king asking, when he came up to her, what it was at, she said it was at a conversation Lord Hervey was reporting between the prince and Mr. Lyttelton, on his being made secretary; and left Lord Hervey, on the king's desiring him to repeat it, telling Lord Hervey, the next time she saw him, 'I think I was one with you for your impertinence." To which Lord Hervey replied, 'The next time you serve me so, madam, perhaps I may be even with you, and desire your majesty to repeat as well as report.'"*

* Lord Hervey's Memoirs.

It may be noticed here, that both Frederick and the queen's party published copies of the French correspondence which had passed between the two branches of the family at feud, and that in the translations appended to the letters, each party was equally unscrupulous in giving such turns to the phrases as should serve only one side, and injure the adverse faction. Bishop Sherlock, who set the good fashion of residing much within his own diocese, once ventured to give an opinion upon the prince's conduct, which, at least, served to show that the prelate was not a very finished courtier. Bishops who reside within their dioceses, and trouble themselves little with what takes place beyond it, seldom are. The bishop said that the prince had lacked able counsellors, had weakly played his game into the king's hands, and made a blunder which he would never retrieve. This remark provoked Caroline to say,—"I hope, my lord, this is not the way you intend to speak your disapprobation of my son's measures anywhere else; for your saying that, by his conduct lately, he has played his game into the king's hands, one would imagine you thought the game had been before in his own; and though he has made his game still worse than it was, I am far from thinking it ever was a good one, or that he had ever much chance to win."

Caroline, and indeed her consort also, conjectured that the public voice and opinion were expressed in favor of the occupants of the throne from the fact, that the birth-day drawing-room of the 30th of October was the most splendid and crowded that had ever been known since the king's accession. That king himself probably little cared whether he were popular or not. He was at this time buying hundreds of lottery-tickets, out of the secret service money, and making presents of them to Madame Walmoden. A few fell, perhaps, to the share of Lady Deloraine: "He'll give her a couple of tickets," said Walpole, "and think her generously used." His majesty would have rejoiced if he could have divided so easily his double possession of England and Hanover. He had long entertained a wish to give the electorate to his second son, William of Cumberland, and entertained a very erroneous idea that the English parliament would assist him in altering the law of succession in the electorate. Caroline had, perhaps, not a much

more correctly formed idea. She had a conviction, however, touching her son, which was probably better founded. "I knew," she said, "he would sell not only his reversion in the electorate, but even in this kingdom, if the pretender would give him five or six hundred thousand pounds in present; but, thank God! he has neither right nor power to sell his family,—though his folly and his knavery may sometimes distress them."*

CHAPTER VIII.

DEATH OF CAROLINE.

After the birth of the Princess Louisa, on the 12th of December, 1724, Caroline, then Princess of Wales, was more than ordinarily indisposed. Her indisposition was of such a nature that, though she had made no allusion to it herself, her husband spoke to her on the subject. The princess avoided entering upon a discussion, and sought to satisfy the prince by remarking that her indisposition was nothing more than what was common to her health, position, and circumstances. For some years, although the symptoms were neglected, the disease was not aggravated. At length more serious indications were so perceptible to George, who was now king, that he did not conceal his opinion that she was suffering from rupture. This opinion she combated with energy, for she had a rooted aversion to its being supposed that she was afflicted with any complaint. She feared lest the fact, being known, might lose her some of her husband's regard, or lead people to think that with personal infirmity her power over him had been weakened. The king again and again urged her to acknowledge that she suffered from the complaint he had named, and to have medical advice on the subject. Again and again she refused, and each time with renewed expressions of displeasure, until at last, the king, contenting himself with expressing a hope

* This matter, only alluded to by Lord Chesterfield, is treated at very great length by Lord Hervey.

that she would not have to repent of her obstinacy, made her a promise never to allude to the subject again, without her consent. The secret, however, was necessarily known to others also; and we can only wonder that, being so known, more active and effective measures were not taken to remedy an evil which, in our days, at least, formidable as it may appear in name, is so successfully treated as almost to deserve no more serious appellation than a mere inconvenience.

Under an appearance of, at least, fair health, Queen Caroline may be said to have been gradually decaying for years. Her pride and her courage would not, however, allow of this being seen, and when she rose, as was her custom, to curtsey to the king, not even George himself was aware of the pain the effort cost her. Sir Robert Walpole was long aware that she suffered greatly from some secret malady, and it was not till after a long period of observation that he succeeded in discovering her majesty's secret. He was often closeted with her, arranging business that they were afterwards to nominally transact in presence of the king, and to settle, as *he* imagined, according to *his* will and pleasure. It was on some such occasion that Sir Robert made the discovery in question. The minister's wife had just died; she was about the same age as Caroline, and the queen put to the minister such close, physical questions, and adverted so frequently to the subject of rupture, of which Sir Robert's wife did not die, that the minister at once came to the conclusion that her majesty was herself suffering from that complaint.* This was the case: but the fact was only known to the king himself, her German nurse (Mrs. Mailborne), and one other person. A curious scene often occurred in her dressing-room and the adjoining apartment. During the process of the morning toilette, prayers were read in the outer room by her majesty's chaplain, the latter kneeling the while beneath the painting of a nude Venus—which, as Dr. Madox, a royal chaplain on service, once observed, was a "very proper altar-piece." On these occasions, Walpole tells us that, "to prevent all suspicion, her majesty would frequently stand some minutes in her shift talking to

* Horace Walpole.

her ladies, and, though laboring with so dangerous a complaint, she made it so invariable a rule never to refuse a desire of the king, that every morning, at Richmond, she walked several miles with him; and more than once, when she had the gout in her foot, she dipped her whole leg in cold water to be ready to attend him. The pain, her bulk, and the exercise, threw her into such fits of perspiration as routed the gout; but those exertions hastened the crisis of her distemper."

In the summer of 1737 she suffered so seriously, that at length, on the 26th of August, a report spread over the town that the queen was dead.* The whole city at once assumed a guise of mourning—gay summer or cheerful autumn dresses were withdrawn from the shop windows, and nothing was to be seen in their place but "sables." The report, however, was unfounded. Her majesty had been ill, but one of her violent remedies had restored her for the moment. She was thereby enabled to walk about Hampton Court with the king, but she was not equal to the task of coming to London on the 29th of the same month, when her grand-daughter Augusta was christened, and king, queen, and Duchess of Saxe-Gotha stood sponsors, by their proxies, to the future mother of a future queen of England.

At length, in November, 1737, the crisis above alluded to occurred, and Caroline's illness soon assumed a very grave character. Her danger, of which she was well aware, did not cause her to lose her presence of mind, nor her dignity, nor to sacrifice any characteristic of her disposition or reigning passion.

It was on Wednesday morning, the 9th of November, that the queen was seized with the illness which ultimately proved fatal to her. She was distressed with violent internal pains, which Daffy's Elixir, administered to her by Dr. Tessier, could not allay. The violence of the attack compelled her to return to bed early in the morning; but her courage was great and the king's pity small, and consequently she rose, after resting for some hours, in order to preside at the usual Wednesday's drawing-room. The king had great dislike to see her absent from this ceremony; without her,

* Salmon's Chronological Historian.

he used to say, there was neither grace, gaiety, nor dignity; and, accordingly, she went to this last duty with the spirit of a wounded knight who returns to the field and dies in harness. She was not able long to endure the fatigue. Lord Hervey was so struck by her appearance of weakness and suffering, that he urged her, with friendly peremptoriness, to retire from a scene for which she was evidently unfitted. The queen acknowledged her inability to continue any longer in the room, but she could not well break up the assembly without the king, who was in another part of the room discussing the mirth and merits of the last uproarious burlesque extravaganza, "The Dragon of Wantley." All London was then flocking to Covent Garden to hear Lampe's music and Carey's light nonsense; and Ryan's Hamlet was not half so much cared for as Reinhold's Dragon, nor Mrs. Vincent's Ophelia so much esteemed as the Margery and Mauxalinda of the two Miss Youngs.*

At length his majesty having been informed of the queen's serious indisposition, and her desire to withdraw, took her by the hand to lead her away, roughly noticing, at the same time, that she had "passed over" the Duchess of Norfolk. Caroline immediately repaired her fault by addressing a few condescending words to that old well-wisher of her family. They were the last words she ever uttered on the public scene of her grandeur. All that followed was the undressing after the great drama was over.

In the evening, Lord Hervey again saw her. He had been dining with the French ambassador, and he returned *from* the dinner at an hour at which people now dress before they go *to* such a ceremony. He was again at the palace by seven o'clock. His duty authorized him, and his inclination prompted him, to see the queen. He found her suffering from increase of internal pains, violent sickness, and progressive weakness. Cordials and various calming remedies were prescribed, and while they were being prepared, a little "usquebaugh" was administered to her; but neither whisky, nor cordials, nor calming draughts could be retained. Her pains increased, and therewith her strength diminished. She was throughout this day and night affectionately attended by the

* Geneste's History of the Drama.

Princess Caroline, who was herself in extremely weak health, but who would not leave her mother's bedside till two o'clock in the morning. The king then relieved her, after his fashion, which brought relief to no one. He did not sit up to watch the sufferer, but, in his morning-gown, lay outside the bed by the queen's side. Her restlessness was very great, but the king did not leave her space enough even to turn in bed; and *he* was so uncomfortable that he was kept awake and ill-tempered throughout the night.

On the following day the queen was bled, but without producing any good effect. Her illness visibly increased, and George was as visibly affected by it. Not so much so, however, as not to be concerned about matters of dress. With the sight of the queen's suffering before his eyes, he remembered that he had to meet the foreign ministers that day, and he was exceedingly particular in directing the pages to see that new ruffles were sewn to his old shirt-sleeves, whereby he might wear a decent air in the eyes of the representatives of foreign majesty. The Princess Caroline continued to exhibit unabated sympathy for the mother who had perhaps loved her better than any other of her daughters. The princess was in tears and suffering throughout the day, and almost needed as much care as the royal patient herself; especially after losing much blood by the sudden breaking of one of the small vessels in the nose. It was on this day that, to aid Broxholm, who had hitherto prescribed for the queen, Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Hulse were called in. They prescribed for an obstinate internal obstruction which could not be overcome, and applied blisters to the legs—a remedy for which both king and queen had a sovereign and silly disgust.

On the 11th, the quiet of the palace was disturbed by a message from the Prince of Wales, making inquiry after the condition of his mother. His declared filial affection roused the king to a pitch of almost ungovernable fury. The royal father flung at the son every missile in his well-stored vocabulary of abuse. There really seemed something devilish in this spirit, at such a time. In truth, however, the king had good ground for knowing that the assurances of the prince were based upon the most patent hypocrisy. The spirit of the dying queen was nothing less fierce and bitter

against the prince and his adherents, that "Cartouche gang," as she was wont to designate them. There was no touch of mercy in her, as regarded her feelings or expressions towards him; and her epithets were not less degrading to the utterer and to the object against whom they were directed, than the king's. She begged her husband to keep her son from her presence. She had no faith, she said, in his assertions of concern, respect, or sympathy. She knew he would approach her with an assumption of grief; would listen dutifully, as it might seem, to her laments; would "blubber like a calf" at her condition; and laugh at her, outright, as soon as he had left her presence.

It seems infinitely strange that it was not until the 12th of the month that the king hinted to the queen the propriety of her physicians knowing that she was suffering from rupture. Caroline listened to the suggestion with aversion and displeasure; she earnestly entreated that what had hitherto been kept secret should remain so. The king apparently acquiesced, but there is little doubt of his having communicated a knowledge of the fact to Ranby the surgeon, who was now in attendance. When the queen next complained of violent internal pain, Ranby approached her, and she directed his hand to the spot where she said she suffered most. Like the skilful man that he was, Ranby contrived at the same moment to satisfy himself as to the existence of the more serious complaint; and having done so, went up to the king, and spoke to him in a subdued tone of voice. The queen immediately suspected what had taken place, and ill as she was, she railed at Ranby for "a blockhead." The surgeon, however, made no mystery of the matter; but declared, on the contrary, that there was no time to be lost, and that active treatment must at once be resorted to. The discovery of the real malady which was threatening the queen's life, and which would not have been perilous had it not been so strangely neglected, cost Caroline the only tears she shed throughout her trying illness.

Shipton and the able and octogenarian Bussier were now called in to confer with the other medical men. It was at first proposed to operate with the knife, but ultimately it was agreed that an attempt should be made to reduce the tumor by less extreme

means. The queen bore the necessary treatment patiently. Her chief watcher and nurse was still the gentle Princess Caroline. The latter, however, became so ill, that the medical men insisted on bleeding her. She would not keep her room, but lay dressed on a couch in an apartment next to that in which lay her dying mother. Lord Hervey, when tired with watching—and his post was one of extreme fatigue and anxiety—slept on a mattress, at the foot of the couch of the Princess Caroline. The king retired to his own bed, and on this night the Princess Amelia waited on her mother.

The following day, Sunday the 13th, was a day of much solemnity. The medical men announced that the wound from which the queen suffered had begun to mortify, and that death must speedily supervene. The danger was made known to all; and of all, Caroline exhibited the least concern. She took a solemn and dignified leave of her children, always excepting the Prince of Wales. Her parting with her favorite son, the young Duke of Cumberland, was touching, and showed the depth of her love for him. Considering her avowed partiality, there was some show of justice in her concluding counsel to him that, should his brother Frederick ever be king, he should never seek to mortify him, but simply try to manifest a superiority over him only by good actions and merit. She spoke kindly to her daughter Amelia, but much more than kindly to the gentle Caroline, to whose care she consigned her two youngest daughters, Louisa and Mary. She appears to have felt as little inclination to see her daughter Anne, as she had to see her son Frederick. Indeed, intimation had been given to the Prince of Orange to the effect that not only was the company of the princess not required, but that should she feel disposed to leave Holland for St. James's, he was to restrain her, by power of his marital authority.

The parting scene with the king was one of mingled dignity and farce, touching incident and crapulousness. Caroline took from her finger a ruby ring, and put it on a finger of the king. She tenderly declared that whatever greatness or happiness had fallen to her share, she had owed it all to him; adding, with something very like profanity and general unseemliness, that naked she had

come to him and naked she would depart from him; for that all she had was his, and she had so disposed of her own that he should be her heir. The singular man to whom she thus addressed herself, acted singularly; and for that matter, so also did his dying consort. Among her last recommendations made on this day, was one enjoining him to marry. The king overcome, or seemingly overcome, at the idea of being a widower, burst into a flood of tears. The queen renewed her injunctions that after her decease he should take a second wife. He sobbed aloud, but amid his sobbing he suggested an opinion, that he thought that rather than take another wife, he would maintain a mistress or two. "Eh, mon dieu," exclaimed Caroline, "the one does not prevent the other. *Cela n' empèche pas!*"

A dying wife might have shown more decency, but she could hardly have been more complacent. Accordingly, when, after the above dignified scene had been brought to a close, the queen fell into a profound sleep, George kissed her unconscious cheeks a hundred times over, expressed an opinion that she would never wake to recognition again, and gave evidence, by his words and actions, how deeply he really regarded the dying woman before him. It happened, however, that she *did* wake to consciousness again; and then, with his usual inconsistency of temper, he snubbed as much as he soothed her, yet without any deliberate intention of being unkind. She expressed her conviction that she should survive till the Wednesday. It was her peculiar day, she said. She had been born on a Wednesday, was married on a Wednesday, first became a mother on a Wednesday, was crowned on a Wednesday, and she was convinced she should die on a Wednesday.

Her expressed indifference as to seeing Walpole is in strong contrast with the serious way in which she *did* hold converse with him on his being admitted to a parting interview. Her feeling of mental superiority over the king was exhibited in her dying recommendation to the minister to be careful of the sovereign. This recommendation being made in the sovereign's presence, was but little relished by the minister, who feared that such a bequest, with the queen no longer alive to afford him protection, might ultimately work his own downfall. George, however, was rather grateful

than angry at the queen's commission to Walpole, and subsequently reminded him with grave good-humor, that *he*, the minister, required no protection, inasmuch as the queen had rather consigned the king to the protection of the minister; and, "his kindness to the minister seemed to increase for the queen's sake."

The day which opened with a sort of despair, closed with a faint prospect of hope. The surgeons declared that the mortification had not progressed, and Lord Hervey does not scruple to infer that it had never begun, and that the medical men employed were, like most of their colleagues, profoundly ignorant of that with which they professed to be most deeply acquainted. The fairer prospect was made known to the queen, in order to encourage her, but Caroline was not to be deceived. At twenty-five, she remarked, she might have dragged through it, but at fifty-five, it was not to be thought of. She still superstitiously looked to the Wednesday as the term of her career.

All access to the palace had been denied alike to the Prince of Wales, and to those who frequented his court; but in the confusion which reigned at St. James's, some members of the prince's family, or following, *did* penetrate to the rooms adjacent to that in which lay the royal sufferer, under pretence of an anxiety to learn the condition of her health. Caroline knew of this vicinity, called them "ravens," waiting to see the breath depart from her body, and insisted that they should not be allowed to approach her nearer. There is ample evidence that the conduct of the Prince of Wales was most unseemly at this solemn juncture. "We shall have good news soon," he was heard to say, at Carlton House, "we shall have good news soon; she can't hold out much longer!" There were people who were slow to believe that a son could exult at the idea of the death of his mother. These persons questioned his "favorite," Lady Archibald Hamilton, as to the actual conduct and language adopted by him, and at such questions the mature mistress would significantly smile, as she discreetly answered:—"Oh, he is very decent!"

The prospect of the queen's recovery was quite illusory, and short-lived. She grew so rapidly worse, that even the voices of those around her appeared to disturb her, and a notice was pinned

to the curtain of her bed, enjoining all present to speak only in the lowest possible tones. Her patience, however, was very great; she took all that was offered to her, however strong her own distaste, and when operations were proposed to her, she submitted at once, on assurance from the king that he sanctioned what the medical men proposed. She did not lose her sprightly humor even when under the knife, and she once remarked to Ranby when she was thus at his mercy, that she dared say he was half sorry it was not his own old wife, he was thus cutting about. But the flesh will quiver where the pincers tear; and even from Caroline, terrible anguish would now and then extort a groan. She bade the surgeons nevertheless not to heed her silly complaints, but to do their duty irrespective of her grumbling.

All this time there does not appear to have been the slightest idea in the mind either of the sufferer, or of those about her, that it would be well were Caroline enabled to make her peace with God. The matter, however, *did* occupy the public thought; and public opinion pressed so strongly, that rather than offend it, Walpole himself recommended that a priest should be sent for. The recommendation was made to the Princess Amelia, and in the obese minister's usual coarse fashion. "It will be quite as well," he said, "that the farce should be played. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Potter) would perform it decently; and the princess might bid him to be as short as she liked. It would do the queen neither harm nor good; and it would satisfy all the fools who called them atheists, if they affected to be as great fools as they who called them so!"

Dr. Potter accordingly was summoned. He attended morning and evening. The king, to show his estimation of the person and his sacred office, invariably kept out of his wife's apartment, while the archbishop was present. What passed is not known; but it is clear that the primate, if he prayed with the queen, never administered the sacrament to her. Was this caused by her irreconcilable hatred against her son?

It is said that her majesty's mistress of the robes, Lady Sundon, had influenced the queen to countenance none but the heterodox clergy. Her conduct in her last moments was consequently watched

with mingled anxiety and curiosity by more than those who surrounded her. The public generally were desirous of being enlightened on the subject. The public soon learned, indirectly, at least, that the archbishop had not administered to the queen the solemn rite. On the last time of his issuing from the royal bedchamber, he was assailed by the courtiers with questions like this:—"My lord, has the queen received?" All the answer given by the primate was, "Gentlemen, her majesty is in a most heavenly frame of mind." This was an oracular sort of response; and it may be said that if the queen was in a heavenly frame of mind, she must have been at peace with her son, as well as with all men, and, therefore, in a condition to receive the administration of the rite, with profit and thankfulness. It was known, morever, that the queen was *not* at peace with her son, and that she had not "received;" she, therefore, could not have been as the archbishop described her, "in a most heavenly state of mind." All that the public knew of her practical piety was, that the queen had been accustomed, or said she had been accustomed, to read a portion of Butler's Analogy, every morning at breakfast. It was of this book that Bishop Hoadly remarked, that he could never even look at it without getting a headache.

Meanwhile, the king, who kept close in the palace, not stirring abroad, and assembling around him a circle of hearers, expatiated at immense length upon the virtues and excellencies of the companion who was on the eve of departure from him. There was no known or discoverable good quality which he did not acknowledge in her; not only the qualities which dignify woman, but those which elevate men. With the courage and intellectual strength of the latter, she had the beauty and virtue of the former. He never tired of this theme, told it over again and again, and ever at an interminable length. The most singular item in his monster dissertation was his cool assurance to his children and friends that she was the only woman in the world who suited him for a wife, and that if she had not been his wife, he would rather have had her for his mistress than any other woman he had ever seen, or heard of.

This was the highest possible praise *such* a husband could

bestow; and he doubtless loved his wife as well as a husband, so trained, could love a consort. His own sharp words to her, even in her illness, were no proof to the contrary; and amid tokens of his uncouth tenderness, observing her restless from pain, and yet desirous of sleep, he would exclaim, "How the devil can you expect to sleep when you never lie still a moment?" This was meant for affection; so, too, was the remark made to her one morning when, on entering her room, he saw her gazing, as invalids are wont to gaze, idly on vacancy, "with lack-lustre eye." He roughly desired her to cease staring in that disagreeable way, which made her look, he said with refined gallantry, just like a calf with its throat cut!

His praise of her, as Lord Hervey acutely suggested, had much of self-eulogy in view; and when he lauded her excellent sense, it had especial reference to that exemplification of it when she was wise enough to accept *him* for a husband. He wearied all hearers with the long stories which he recounted both of Caroline and himself, as he sat at night, with his feet on a stool, pouring out prosily his never-ending narrative. The Princess Amelia used to endeavor to escape from the tediousness of listening, by pretending to be asleep, and to avenge herself for being compelled to listen, by gross abuse of her royal father when he left the room —calling him old fool, liar, coward, and a driveller, of whose stories she was most heartily sick.

And so matters went on, progressively worse, until Sunday the 20th—the last day which Caroline was permitted to see upon earth. The circumstances attending the queen's death were not without a certain dignity. "How long can this last?" said she to her physician Tessier. "It will not be long," was the reply, "before your majesty will be relieved from this suffering." "The sooner the better," said Caroline. And then she began to pray aloud; and her prayer was not a formal one, fixed in her memory by repeating it from the Book of Common Prayer, but a spontaneous and extemporary effusion, so eloquent, so appropriate, and so touching, that all the listeners were struck with admiration at this last effort of a mind ever remarkable for its vigor and ability. She herself manifested great anxiety to depart in a manner be-

coming a great queen; and as her last moment approached, her anxiety in this respect appeared to increase. She requested to be raised in bed, and asked all present to kneel and offer up a prayer in her behalf. While this was going on, she grew gradually fainter, but, at her desire, water was sprinkled upon her so that she might revive, and listen to, or join in, the petitions which her family (all but her eldest son, who was not present) put up to Heaven in her behalf. "Louder!" she murmured more than once, as some one read or prayed. "Louder, that I may hear." Her request was complied with, and then one of her children repeated audibly the Lord's Prayer. In this Caroline joined, repeating the words as distinctly as failing nature would allow her. The prayer was just concluded when she looked fixedly for a moment at those who stood weeping around her, and then uttered a long-drawn "So——!" It was her last word. As it fell from her lips the dial on the chimney-piece struck eleven. She calmly waved her hand—a farewell to all present and to the world; and then tranquilly composing herself upon her bed, she breathed a sigh, and so expired. Thus died Caroline; and few queens of England have passed away to their account with more of mingled dignity and indecorum.

To this account of the queen's illness, chiefly compiled, and very closely condensed, from Hervey's diffuse, but interesting narrative, it may be added that Nichols, in his "Reminiscences," says that Dr. Sands suggested that a cure might be effected by injecting warm water, and that Dr. Hulse approved of the remedy and method. It was applied, with no one present but the medical men just named; and though it signally failed, they pronounced it as having succeeded. Their terror was great; and when they passed through the outer apartments, where the Duke of Newcastle congratulatingly hugged Hulse, on his having saved the queen's life, the doctor struggled with all his might to get away, lest he should be questioned upon a matter which involved, perhaps, more serious consequences than he could in his bewilderment then accurately calculate.

The Princess Caroline, as soon as the queen had apparently passed away, put a looking-glass to her lips, and finding it un-

sullied by any breath, calmly remarked, "'Tis over," and thenceforward ceased to weep as she had done while her mother was dying. The king kissed the face and hands of his departed consort, with unaffected fervor. His conduct continued to be as singular as ever. He was superstitious and afraid of ghosts, and it was remarked on this occasion, that he would have people with him in his bed-room, as if their presence could have saved him from the visitation of a spirit. In private, the sole subject of his conversation was "Caroline." He loved to narrate the whole history of her early life and his own: their wooing and their wedding, their joys and vexations. In these conversations, he introduced something about every person with whom he had ever been in anything like close connection. It was observed, however, that he never once mentioned the name of his mother, Sophia Dorothea, or in any way alluded to her. He purposely avoided the subject, but he frequently named the father of Sophia, the Duke of Zell, who, he said, was so desirous of seeing his grandson grow up into an upright man, that the duke declared he would shoot him if George Augustus should prove a dishonest one!

Amid all these anecdotes, and tales, and reminiscences, and praises, there was a constant flow of tears shed for her who was gone. They seemed, however, to come and go at pleasure, for in the very height of his mourning and depth of his sorrow, he happened to see Horace, the brother of Sir Robert Walpole, who was weeping for fashion's sake, but in so grotesque a manner, that when the king beheld it, he ceased to cry, and burst into a roar of laughter.

Lord Hervey foretold that his grief was not of a lasting quality; and, in some degree, he was correct. It must be confessed, however, that the king never ceased to respect the memory of his wife. Walpole only thought of how George might be ruled now that the queen was gone, and he speedily fixed upon a plan. He had been accustomed, he said, to side with the mother against the mistress. He would now, he said, side with the mistress against the children. He it was, who proposed that Madame Walmoden should now be brought to England; and, in a revoltingly coarse observation to the Princess Caroline, he recommended her, if she

would have any influence with her father, to surround him with women, and govern him through them!

But other parties had been on the watch to lay hold of the power which had now fallen from the hand of the dead Caroline.

The discussion in the royal family, which was caused by the conduct of the Prince of Wales, at the period of the birth of his eldest daughter Augusta, was, of course, turned to political account. It was made even of more account in that way, when the condition of Caroline became known. Lord Chesterfield, writing to Mr. Lyttelton, from Bath, on the 12th of November, 1737, says: "As I suppose the queen will be dead or out of danger before you receive this, my advice to his royal highness (of Wales) will come full late; but in all events it is my opinion, he cannot take too many and too respectful measures towards the queen, if alive, and towards the king, if she is dead; but then that respect should be absolutely personal, and care should be taken that the ministers shall not have the least share of it."

At the time when Caroline's indignation had been aroused by the course adopted by the prince, when his wife was brought from Hampton Court to St. James's for her confinement, his royal highness had made a statement to Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Harrington, which they were subsequently required to put down in writing as corroborative evidence of what the prince had said to the queen. In reference to the inditers of these "minutes of conversation," Lord Chesterfield advises that the disrespect which he recommends the prince to exhibit towards the ministry, shall be more marked, "if in the course of these transactions the *two evidences* should be sent to, or of themselves presume to approach the prince; in which case (says the writer) he ought to show them personal resentment; and if they bring any message from the king or queen which he cannot refuse receiving, he should ask for it in writing, and give his answer in writing; alleging publicly for his reason, that he cannot venture anything with people who have grossly both betrayed and misrepresented private conversation."*

Through the anticipated natural death of the queen, the opposi-

* Lord Chesterfield's Life and Letters. Edited by Lord Mahon.

tion hoped to effect the political death of Walpole. "In case the queen dies," writes Chesterfield, "I think Walpole should be looked upon as gone too, whether he be really so or no, which will be the most likely way to weaken him; for if he be supposed to inherit the queen's power over the king, it will in some degree give it him; and if the opposition are wise, instead of treating with him, they should attack him most vigorously and personally, as a person who has lost his chief support. Which is indeed true; for though he may have more power with the king than any other body, yet he will never have that kind of power which he had by her means; and he will not even dare to mention many things to the king, which he could without difficulty have brought about by her means. Pray present my most humble duty to his royal highness," concludes the writer, "and tell him that upon principles of personal duty and respect to the king and queen (if alive), he cannot go too far; as, on the other hand, with relation to the ministers, after what has passed, he cannot carry his dignity too high." The same strain is continued in a second letter, wherein it is stated with respect to the anticipated death of the queen: "It is most certain that Sir Robert must be in the utmost distress, and can never hope to govern the king as the queen governed him;" and he adds, in a postscript: "We have a prospect of the Claude Lorraine kind before us, while Sir Robert's has all the horrors of Salvator Rosa. If the prince would play the rising sun, he would gild it finely; if not, he will be under a cloud, which he will never be able hereafter to shine through." Finally, exclaims the eager writer: "Instil this into the *Woman*,"—meaning by the latter the Prince of Wales's "favorite," Lady Archibald Hamilton,—who "had filled," says Lord Mahon, "the whole of his little court with her kindred." According to Horace Walpole, "whenever Sir William Stanhope met anybody at Carlton House whom he did not know, he always said, 'your humble servant, Mr. or Mrs. Hamilton.'"

A fortnight after Chesterfield contemptuously calls Lady Archibald "the *Woman*," he begins to see the possibility of her rising to the possession of political influence, and he says to Mr. Lyttelton: "Pray, when you see Lady Archibald, assure her of my re-

spects, and tell her that I would trouble her with a letter myself, to have acknowledged her goodness to me, if I could have expressed those acknowledgments to my own satisfaction; but not being able to do that, I only desire she would be persuaded that my sentiments with regard to her are what they ought to be."* In such wise, did great men counsel and intrigue for the sake of a little pre-eminence, which never yet purchased, or brought with it, the boon of happiness.

CHAPTER IX.

CAROLINE, HER TIMES AND CONTEMPORARIES.

MUCH has been said, and many opposite conclusions drawn, as to the religious character of Caroline. In *our* days, such a woman would not be allowed to wear the reputation of being religious. In *her* days, she may with more justice have been considered so. And yet she was far below a standard of much elevation. When we hear her boasting,—or rather asserting, as convinced of the fact, that "she had made it the business of her life to discharge her duty to God and man in the best manner she was able," we have no very favorable picture of her humility; though at the same time we may acquit her of hypocrisy.

Her patronage of the well-meaning, but mischievous, the learned but unwise Whiston, is quite sufficient to condemn her in the opinion of many people. Here was a man who had not yet, indeed, left the Church of England for a Baptist meeting, because the Athanasian creed was an offence to him, but he had pronounced Prince Eugene to be the man foretold in the Apocalypse as the destroyer of the Turkish Empire, had declared that the children of Joseph and Mary were the natural brothers and sisters of Christ, set up a heresy in his "Primitive Christianity revived," made open profession of Arianism, boldly made religious prophecies that

* Lord Chesterfield's Life and Letters; *ut supra.*

were falsified as soon as made, and, more innocently, translated *Josephus*, and tried to discover the longitude. Caroline showed her admiration of heterodox Whiston by conferring on him a pension of fifty pounds a year; and as she had a regard for the mad scholar, she paid him with her own hand, and had him as a frequent visitor at the palace. The king was more guarded in his patronage of Whiston, and one day said to him as king, queen and preacher were walking together in Hampton Court gardens, that his opinions against Athanasianism might certainly be true, but perhaps it would have been better, if he had kept them to himself. Now Whiston was remarkable for his wit and his fearlessness, and looking straight in the face of the man who was king by right of the Reformation, and who was the temporal head of the Church, and *ex-officio*, Defender of the Faith, he said,—"If Luther had followed such advice, I should like to know where your majesty would have been at the present moment." "Well, Mr. Whiston," said Caroline, "you are, as I have heard it said you were, a very free speaker. Are you bold enough to tell me my faults?" "Certainly," was Whiston's reply. "There are many people who come every year from the country to London upon business. Their chief, loyal, and natural desire is to see their king and queen. This desire they can nowhere so conveniently gratify as at the Chapel Royal. But what they see there does not edify them. They behold your majesty talking during nearly the whole time of service, with the king,—and talking loudly. This scandalizes them; they go into the country with fale impressions, spread false reports, and effect no little mischief." The queen pleaded that the king *would* talk to her, acknowledged that it was wrong, promised amendment, and asked what was the next fault he descried in her. "Nay, madam," said he, "it will be time enough to go to the second, when your majesty has corrected the first."

What Caroline said of her consort was true enough. At chapel, the king, when not sleeping, *would* be talking; Dr. Young thought, by power of his preaching, to keep him awake, but the king, on finding that the new chaplain was not giving him what he loved, "a short, good sermon," soon began to exhibit signs of somnolency. Young exerted himself in vain, and when his majesty at length

broke forth with a snore, the poet-preacher felt his vanity so wounded, that he burst into tears. Where kings and queens so behaved, no wonder that young ensigns flirted openly with maids of honor, and that Lady Wortley Montague should have reason to write to the Countess of Bute:—"I confess, I remember to have dressed for St. James's Chapel with the same thoughts your daughters will have at the opera."

It is not likely that Archbishop Potter was sent for by Caroline herself in her last illness, for she liked the prelate as little as Whiston himself did. But Potter, the first of scholars, in spite of the sneers of academical Parr, was, although a stanch Whig, and esteemed by Caroline and her consort for his sermon preached before them at their coronation, yet a very high churchman, one who put the throne infinitely below the altar, and thought kings very far indeed below priests. This last opinion, however, was very much modified when the haughty prelate, son of a Wakefield linen-draper, had to petition for a favor. His practice, certainly, was not perfect, for he disinherited one son, who married a dowerless maiden, out of pure love, and he left his fortune to the other who was a profligate, and squandered it.

But even Caroline could not but respect Potter for his jealousy with respect to the worthily supplying of Church benefices. Just after the queen had congratulated him on being elected to the highest position in the Church of England, Potter called on a clerical relative, to announce to him the intention of his kinsman to confer on him a valuable living. The archbishop unfortunately found his reverend cousin busily engaged at skittles, and the prelate came upon him just as the apostolic player was aiming at the centre-pin, with the remark, "Now for a shy at the head of the Church!" He missed his pin, and also lost his preferment. Neither of their majesties, however, thought Potter justified in withholding a benefice on such slight grounds of offence. Neither George nor Caroline approved of clergymen of any rank inveighing against amusements. I may cite, as a case in point, the anger with which the king at heart visited Gibson, Bishop of London, for denouncing masquerades, and for getting up an episcopal address to the throne, praying "for the entire abolition of such pernicious

diversions." The son of Sophia Dorothea was especially fond of masquerades, and his indignation was great at hearing them denounced by Gibson. This boldness shut the latter out from all chance of succeeding to Canterbury. Caroline looked with some favor, however, on this zealous and upright prelate; and her minister, Walpole, did nothing to obstruct the exercise of his great ecclesiastical power. "Gibson is a Pope!" once exclaimed one of the low church courtiers of Caroline's coterie. "True!" was Walpole's reply, "and a very good Pope too!"

It must be confessed, nevertheless, that the Church and religion were equally in a deplorable state, just previous to the demise of Caroline. That ingenious and learned Northumbrian, Edward Grey, published anonymously, the year before the queen's death, a work upon "The Miserable and Distracted state of Religion in England, upon the downfall of the Church Established." A work, however, published the same year, and which much more interested the queen, was Warburton's famous "Alliance between Church and State." This book brought again into public notice, its author, that William Warburton, the son of a Newark attorney, who himself had been a lawyer, and usher, had denounced Pope as an incapable poet, and had sunk into temporary oblivion in his Lincolnshire rectory at Brand Broughton. But his "Alliance between Church and State" brought him to the notice of Queen Caroline, to whom his book and his name were introduced by Dr. Hare, the Bishop of Chichester. Caroline liked the book, and desired to see the author, but her last fatal illness was upon her before he could be introduced, and Warburton had to write many books, and wait many years before he found a patron in Murray (Lord Mansfield) who could help him to preferment.

It is said, as I have previously observed, that Queen Caroline made of Butler's "Analogy of Religion, natural and revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature," a sort of light-reading book, which was the ordinary companion of her breakfast table. Caroline may possibly have liked to dip into such profound fountains, but I doubt whether she often looked into the Analogy, as it was not published till 1736, when her malady was increasing, and her power to study a work so abstruse must have been much

diminished. Still she admired the learned divine, who was the son of a Wantage shopkeeper, and who was originally a presbyterian dissenter,—a community for which German protestant princes and princesses have always entertained a considerable regard. Caroline did not merely admire Butler because High Churchmen looked upon him, even after his ordination, as half a dissenter; she had admired his Rolls Sermons, and when Secker, another ex-presbyterian whom Butler had induced to enter the church, introduced and recommended him to Queen Caroline, she immediately appointed him Clerk of the Closet. It could have been very little before this, that Secker himself, who had been a presbyterian, a doctor, a sort of sentimental vagabond on the Continent, and a free-thinker to boot,—had been, after due probation and regular progress, appointed Rector of St. James's. Walpole declares that Secker owed this preferment to the favor of the queen, and Secker's biographers cannot prove much to the contrary. At the period of Caroline's death, he was Bishop of Bristol, and that high dignity he is also said to have owed to the friendship of Caroline. I wish it were only as true, that when the Prince of Wales was at enmity with the king and queen, and used to attend St. James's Church, his place of residence being at Norfolk House, in the adjacent square, I wish, I say, it were true that Secker once preached to the prince on the text, "Honor thy father and mother." The tale, however, is apocryphal; but it *is* true that the prince, himself, at the period of the family quarrel, was startled, on entering the church, at hearing Mr. Bonny, the clerk in orders, rather pointedly beginning the service with "I will arise, and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned," &c.

But perhaps of all the members of the Church, Caroline felt regard for none more than for Berkely. He had been an active divine, long indeed before the queen visited him with her favor. His progress had been checked by his sermons in favor of passive obedience and non-resistance,—sermons which were considered not so much inculcating loyalty to Brunswick as defending the revolution which opened to that house the way to the throne. Berkely had also incurred no little public wrath by destroying the letters which Swift's Vanessa had bequeathed to his care, with a sum of

money, for the express purpose of their being published. But, on the other hand, he had manifested in various ways the true spirit of a Christian and a philosopher, and had earned immortal honor by his noble attempt to convert the American savages to Christianity. But it was his Minute Philosopher,—his celebrated work, the object of which was to refute skepticism, that gained for him the distinction of the approval of Caroline. The expression of such approval is warrant for the queen's sincerity in the cause of true religion. So delighted was the queen with this work, that she procured for its author his nomination to the Bishopric of Cloyne. Never was reward more nobly earned, more worthily bestowed, or more gracefully conferred. It did honor alike to the queen and to Berkely, and it raised the hopes of those who were ready to almost despair of Christianity itself, when they saw that religion yet had its great champions to uphold her cause, and that, however indifferent the king might be to the merits of such champions, the queen herself was ever eager to acknowledge their services, and to recompense them largely, as they merited.

In controversial works, however, Caroline always delighted. She had no greater joy in this way than setting Clarke and Leibnitz at intellectual struggle, watching the turns of the contest with interest, suggesting, amending, adding, or diminishing, and advising every well-laid blow, by whichever antagonist it was delivered. It may be asked, was there not in all this rather more love of intellectual than of religious pursuits. The reader must judge. Meanwhile, let us turn from the consideration of her religious to that of her personal character; from religion to morals, from the "most religious" sovereign to the queen as woman, to her personal merits, and how others accounted of them.

Lord Chesterfield says of her, in his "lively pretty" way, that "she was a woman of lively, pretty parts." She merits, however, a better epitaph, and a more sagacious chronicler. "Her death," adds the noble roué, "was regretted by none but the king. She died meditating projects which must have ended either in her own ruin, or that of the country." Dismissing, for the present, the last part of this paragraph, we will say that Caroline was mourned by more than by the king, but by none so deeply, so deservedly,

so naturally as by him. He had not, out of affection for her, been less selfish or less vicious than his inclinations induced him to be. He was faithless to her, but he never ceased to respect her; and in those days a husband of whom nothing worse could be said, was rather exemplary of conduct than otherwise. It was a sort of decorum that was by no means common. One could have almost thought him uxorious, for he not only allowed himself to be directed, in all important matters requiring judgment and discretion, by the guidance of her more enlightened mind, but he never drew a picture of beauty and propriety in woman, but all the hearers felt that the original of the picture was the queen herself. It is strange, setting aside more grave considerations for the rule of conduct, that, with such a wife, he should have hampered himself with "favorites." These he neither loved nor respected. A transitory liking and the evil fashion of the day had something to do with it; and besides, he had a certain feeling of attachment for women who were obsequious and serviceable. These he could rule, but his wife ruled *him*. Nor could the women be compared. Sir Robert Walpole, an unexceptionable witness in this case, asserts that the king loved his wife's little finger better than he did Lady Suffolk's whole body. For that reason it was that Walpole himself so respectfully kissed the small, plump, and graceful hand of the queen rather than propitiate the good-will of the favorite.

Our great-grandfathers and grandmothers must have been a terribly wicked race, for I hold it impossible for a people generally to be virtuous when the court and nobility set them an example of vice. Such vices are often the seed out of which spring republics; and the lust of Tarquin built the Commonwealth of Rome. Nor must it be set down that Caroline was blameless. She shared the vices in which her husband indulged, by favoring the indulgence. She was not the more excusable for this because Archdeacon Blackburn and other churchmen praised her for encouraging the king in his wickedness. Her ground of action was not founded on virtuous principle. She sanctioned, nay promoted, the vicious way of life followed by her consort, merely that she might exercise more power politically and personally. She depreciated her own worth and attractions in order to heighten those of the favorites

whom the king most affected, and by way of apologizing for his being attracted from her to them. Actually, she had as little regard for married faith as the king himself. They were both very coarse people, and Caroline understood as little as did her lord, the refinement and fidelity of affection, which, like the ivy, at once warms and protects the dear ruin to which it clings. The result was, that the king was the head of a household, and yet of such uncleanness and infamy, as would make of a man now an outcast from society. The queen endured it all, and lived among it all with such complacency, as to have given rise to a belief that she had never cared for the king, and was therefore jealouslessly indifferent as to the disgraceful tenor of his life. An allusion was once made in her presence, when the Duke of Grafton was by, to her having in former times not been unaffected by the suit of a German prince. "G—d, madam," said the duke, in the fashionable blasphemous style of the period, "G—d, madam, I should like to see the man you could love!" "See him?" said the queen, laughingly; "do you not then think that I love the king?" "G—d, madam," exclaimed the ostentatious blasphemer, "I only wish I were King of France, and I would soon be sure whether you did or did not."

The king, however,—to return to that royal widower,—indubitably mourned over his loss, and regarded with some rag, as it were, of the dignity of affection, her memory, and with a tearful respect. He was forever talking of her, even to his mistress; and Lady Yarmouth (as Madame Walmoden was called) as well as others, had to listen to the well-conned roll of her queenly virtues, and to the royal conjectures as to what the advice of Caroline would have been in certain supervening contingencies. There was something noble in his remark, on ordering the payment to be continued of all salaries to her officers and servants, and all her benefactions to benevolent institutions, that, if possible, nobody should suffer by her death but himself. We almost pity the wretched but imbecile old man, too, when we see him bursting into tears at the sight of Walpole, and confessing to him, with a helpless shaking of the hands, that he had lost the rock of his support, his warmest friend, his wisest counsellor, and that henceforth he must be dreary, dis-

consolate, and succorless, utterly ignorant whither to turn for succor or for sympathy.

This feeling never entirely deserted him; albeit, he continued to find much consolation where he had done better not to have sought it. Still the old memory would not entirely fade, the old fire would not entirely be quenched. "I hear," said he, once to Baron Brinkman, as he lay sleepless, at early morn, on his couch, "I hear you have a portrait of my wife, which was a present from her to you, and that it is a better likeness than any I have got. Let me look at it." The portrait was brought, and so placed before the king that he could contemplate it leisurely at his ease. "It *is* like her," he murmured. "Place it nearer to me, and leave me till I ring." For two whole hours the baron remained in attendance in an adjoining room, before he was again summoned to his master's presence. At the end of that time, he entered the king's bedroom, on being called. George looked up at him with eyes full of tears, and muttered, pointing to the portrait:—"Take it away; take it away! I never yet saw the woman worthy to buckle her shoe." And thence he arose, and went and breakfasted with Lady Yarmouth.

A score of years after Caroline's death, he continued to speak of her only with emotion. His vanity, however, disposed him to be considered gallant to the last. In 1755, being at Hanover, he was waited upon by the Duchess of Brunswick-Wölfenbuttel and all her unmarried daughters. The provident and maternal duchess had an object, and she was not very far from accomplishing it. The king considered all these young ladies with the speculative look of both a connoisseur and an amateur. He was especially struck by the beauty of the eldest, and he lost no time in proposing her as a match to his grandson and heir-apparent, George Prince of Wales, then in his minority. The prince, at the prompting of his mother, very peremptorily declined the honor which had been submitted for his acceptance, and the young princess, her mother, and King George were all alike profoundly indignant. "Oh!" exclaimed the latter with ardent eagerness, to Lord Waldegrave, "Oh, that I were but a score of years younger, this young lady should not then have been exposed to the indignity of being refused by the

Prince of Wales, for I would then myself have made her Queen of England!" That is to say, that if the young Princess of Brunswick-Wölfenbuttel could only have been introduced to him while he was sitting under the shadow of the great sorrow which had fallen upon him by the death of Caroline, he would have found solace for his grief, by offering her his hand. However, it was now too late, and the gay old monarch, taking his amber-headed cane, feebly picked his way to Lady Yarmouth and a game at ombre.

Lord Chesterfield allowed Caroline some degree of female knowledge. If by this he would infer that she had only a portion of the knowledge which was commonly possessed by the ladies her contemporaries, his lordship does her great injustice. There were few women of her time who were so well instructed; and she was not the less well-taught, for being in a great degree self-taught. She may have been but superficially endowed in matters of theology and in ancient history; but, what compensated at least for the latter, she was well acquainted with what more immediately concerned her, the history of her own times. Lord Chesterfield further remarks that Caroline would have been an agreeable woman in social life, if she had not aimed at being a great one in public life. This would imply that she had doubly failed, where, in truth, she had doubly succeeded. She *was* agreeable in the circle of social, and she not only aimed at but achieved greatness in public life. She was as great a queen as queen could become in England, under the circumstances in which she was placed. Without any constitutional right, she ruled the country with such wisdom that her right always seemed to rest on a constitutional basis. There was that in her, that had her destiny taken her to Russia instead of England, she would have been as Catherine was in all but her uncleanness;—not that, in purity of mind, she was very superior to Catherine the Unclean.

The following paragraph in Lord Chesterfield's character of Caroline is less to be contested than others in which the noble author has essayed to portray the queen. "She professed wit, instead of concealing it; and valued herself in her skill in simulation and dissimulation, by which she made herself many enemies, and not one friend, even among the women the nearest to her person." It

may very well be doubted, however, whether any sovereign ever had a "friend" in the true acceptation of that term. It is much if they acquire an associate whose interest or inclination it is to be faithful; but such a person is not a friend.

Lord Chesterfield seems to warm against her as he proceeds in his picture. "Cunning and perfidy," he says, "were the means she made use of in business, as all women do for want of a better." This blow is dealt at one poor woman merely for the purpose of smiting all. Caroline, no doubt, was full of art, and on the stage of public life was a mere, but most accomplished, actress. It must be remembered, too, that she was surrounded by cunning and perfidious people. Society was never so unprincipled as it was during her time; and yet amid its unutterable corruption, *all* women were not crafty and treacherous. There were some noble exceptions,—but these did not lie much in the way of the deaf and dissolute earl's acquaintance.

"She had a dangerous ambition," continues the same author, "for it was attended with courage, and if she had lived much longer, might have proved fatal either to herself or the constitution." It is courage, like Caroline's, which plucks peril from ambition, but does not indeed make the latter less dangerous to the people, which is, perhaps, what Chesterfield means. With respect to the queen's religion, he says:—"After puzzling herself in all the whimsies and fantastical speculations of different sects, she fixed herself ultimately in Deism, believing a future state." In this he merely repeats a story, which, probably, originated with those whose views on Church questions were of a "higher" tendency than those of her majesty. And after repeating others, he contradicts himself, for he has no sooner stated that the queen was not an agreeable woman, because she aimed at being a great one, than he adds, "Upon the whole, the *agreeable woman* was liked by most people—but the *queen* was neither esteemed, beloved, nor trusted, by anybody but the king." At least, she was not despised by everybody; and *that*, considering the times in which she lived, and the discordant parties over whom she really reigned, is no slight commendation. It is a praise which cannot be awarded to the king.

Let us add, that not only has Chesterfield said of Caroline that

she settled down to Deism, "believing in a future state," but he has said the same, and in precisely the same terms, of Pope, and upon Pope's authority, of Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester. Here is at least a double, and, perhaps, as we should hope, a triple error.

The popular standard of morality was deplorably low throughout the reigns of the first two Georges, and decorous as was the deportment of Caroline, her toleration of what would now be regarded as infamous, only gave her quiet at home to afford an apology for vice abroad.

To prove that the popular standard was low, it is only necessary to point to the scorn which has clung, like ivy, to the towering reputation of Marlborough. At the court of Caroline, while that great man was complacently allowed to be unsurpassed as commander and statesman, his weaknesses, "which leaned to virtue's side," were condemned with more energy than if they had really been vices. He was ridiculed for the unwavering fidelity and affection which he manifested towards his wife. There were few husbands like him, at the time, in either respect. He was satirized for being superior to almost irresistible temptations; he was laughed at for having prayers in his camp, for turning reverently to God, before he turned fiercely against his foes; the epigrammatists were particularly severe against him, because he was honest enough to pay his debts and live within his income. But "his meanness?" well, his meanness might rather be called prudence, and if his censurers had nourished in themselves something of the same quality, it would have been the better for themselves and their contemporaries, and, indeed, none the worse for their descendants. One of the alleged instances of Marlborough's meanness is cited, in his having once played at whist with Dean Jones, at which he left off, the winner of sixpence. The dean delayed to pay the stake, and the duke asked for it, stating that he wanted the sixpence for a chair to go home in. It seems to me that the meanness rested with the rich dean in not paying, and not with the millionnaire duke in requiring to be paid.

No man ever spoke more disparagingly of Marlborough, than his enemy Lord Peterborough, though even he did justice to Marlborough's abilities; but Lord Peterborough was especially severe

on the duke's love of money. The latter spent wisely, the former squandered profusely, and cheated his heirs. The duke in the Bath-rooms, dunning a dean for sixpence, is not so degrading a picture as Peterborough, in the Bath market, cheapening commodities, and walking about in his blue ribbon and star, with a fowl in his hand, and a cabbage or a cauliflower under either arm. Peterborough was lewd and sensual, vain, passionate, and inconstant, a mocker of Christianity, and a remorseless transgressor of the laws of God and man. He was superior to Marlborough only in one thing—in spelling. A poor boast. Compare the duke, leading a well-regulated life, and walking daily with his God, to Peterborough, whose only approaches to religion consisted in his once going to hear Penn preach, because he "liked to be civil to all religions," and in his saying of Fenelon, that he was a delicious creature, but dangerous, because acquaintance with him was apt to make men pious!

Marlborough's favorite general, Cadogan, was one of the ornaments of the court of George and Caroline, down to 1726. They had reason to regard him, for he was a stanch Whig, but rather, as a diplomatist, perilling what he was commissioned to preserve. *His* morality is evidenced in his remark made when some one inquired, on the committal of Atterbury to the Tower, for Jacobite dealings, what should be done with the bishop? "Done with him!" roared Cadogan: "throw him to the lions!" Atterbury, on hearing of this meek suggestion, burst out with an explosion of alliterative fierceness, and denounced the earl to Pope, "as bold, bad, blundering, blustering, bloody, bully!" The episcopal sense of forgiveness was on a par with the sentiment of mercy which influenced the bosom of the soldier.

But Marlborough's social, severe, and domestic virtues were not asked for in the commanders of following years. Thus Macartney, despite the blood upon his hand, stained in the duel between the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun, was made colonel of the twenty-first regiment, six years previous to the queen's death. General Webb, who died two years previously, was thought nothing the worse for his Thrasonic propensity, and was forever boasting of his courage, and alluding to the four wounds he had received

in the battle of Wynendael. "My dear general," said the Duke of Argyle, on one of these occasions, "I wish you had received a fifth—in your tongue; for then everybody else would have talked of your deeds!"

Still more unfavorably shines another of the generals of this reign. I allude to Lord Cobham, who did not lack bravery, and who owes most of his celebrity to Pope. He did not care how wicked a man was, provided only he were a gentleman in his vices; and he was guilty of an act which Marlborough would have contemplated with horror—namely, tried hard to make infidels of two promising young gentlemen—Gilbert West and George, subsequently Lord, Lyttelton.

Marlborough, too, was vastly superior in morality to Blakeney, that brave soldier and admirable dancer of Irish jigs; but who was so given to amiable excesses, of which court and courtiers thought little at this liberal period, that he drank punch till he was paralyzed. And surely it was better, like Marlborough, to play for sixpences, than, like Wade, to build up and throw down fortunes, night after night, at the gaming-table. But there was a more celebrated general at the court of the second George than the road-constructing Wade. John Dalrymple, Earl of Stair, was one of those men in high station whose acts tend to the weal or woe of inferior men who imitate them. Stair was forever gaily allowing his expenditure to exceed his income. His sense of honor was not so keen but that he would go in disguise among the Jacobites, profess to be of them, and betray their confidence. This dishonorable course of proceeding is now unknown at every court in the world save that of St. Petersburgh. There, noblemen very unconcernedly accept the offices of spies, and officers bearing commissions kiss the hand of their exemplary master on taking leave to visit foreign arsenals, as friends, but with a very hostile end in view. Nay, it is said, that some of the ladies even of the imperial family are made serviceable for the same end, and as interesting invalids, sojourn on the sea-coasts of foreign lands, and make notes of all they observe, a knowledge of which may prove of value in some future emergency. This immorality has gone out of fashion with us for more than a century, but Lord

Stair, and the court of George the Second generally, would have looked upon it rather as a virtue. And yet, even Lord Stair could act with honest independence. He voted against Walpole's excise scheme, in 1733, although he knew that such a vote would cost him all his honors. He *was* accordingly turned out from his post of lord high admiral for Scotland. Caroline was angry at his vote, yet sorry for its consequences. "Why," said she to him, "why were you so silly as to thwart Walpole's views?" "Because, madam," was the reply, "I wished you and your family better than to support such a project." Stair merits, too, a word of commendation for his protesting against the merciless conduct of the government with respect to the captive Jacobites; and, like Marlborough, he was of praiseworthy conduct in private life, zealous for Presbyterianism, yet tolerant of all other denominations, and by his intense attachment to a Protestant succession, one of the most valuable supporters of the throne of George and Caroline. Both the men were consistent; but equal praise cannot be awarded to another good soldier of the period. The Duke of Argyle, who, when out of office, declared that a standing army, in time of peace, was ever fatal either to prince or nation; subsequently, when in office, as deliberately maintained that a standing army never had in any country the chief hand in destroying the liberties of the State. This sort of disgraceful versatility marked his entire political career; and it is further said of him that he "was meanly ambitious of emolument as a politician, and contemptibly mercenary as a patron." He had, however, one rare, and, by no means, unimportant virtue. "The strictest economy was enforced in his household, and his tradesmen were punctually paid once a month." This virtue was quite enough to purchase sneers for him in the cabinet of King George and the court of Queen Caroline. In the last year of the reign of that king died General Hawley, whose severity to his soldiers, agreeable as it was to George and to his son, the Duke of Cumberland, acquired for him in the ranks the title of lord chief-justice. An extract from his will may serve to show that the "lord chief-justice" had little in him of the Christian soldier. "I direct and order that, as there 's now a peace, and I may die the common way, my carcase

may be put anywhere, 'tis equal to me; but I will have no more expense or ridiculous show than if a poor soldier, who is as good a man, were to be buried from the hospital. The priest, I conclude, will have his fee, let the puppy take it. Pay the carpenter for the carcase-box. I give to my sister 5000*l.* As to my other relations, I have none who want, and as I never was married, I have no heirs; I have, therefore, long since taken it into my head to adopt one son and heir, after the manner of the Romans; who I hereafter name, &c..... I have written all this," he adds, "with my own hand, and this I do because I hate all priests of all professions, and have the worst opinion of all members of the bar."

Having glanced at these social traits of men who were among the foremost of those who were above the rank of mere courtiers around the throne of the husband of Caroline, let us quit the palace, and seek for other samples of the people and the times, in the prisons, the private houses, and the public streets.

With regard to the prisons, it is easier to tell than to conceive the horrors even of the debtors' prisons of those days. Out of them, curiously enough, arose the colonization of the State of Georgia. General Oglethorpe having heard that a friend named Castle, an architect by profession, had died in consequence of the hardships inflicted on him in the Fleet Prison, instituted an inquiry by which discovery was made of some iniquitous proceedings. The unfortunate debtors, unable to pay their fees to the jailors, who had no salary, and lived upon what they could extort from the prisoners and their friends, were subjected to torture, chains, and starvation. The authorities of the prison were prosecuted, and penalties of fine and imprisonment laid upon them. A better result was, a parliamentary grant, with a public subscription, and private donations, whereby Oglethorpe was enabled to found a colony of liberated insolvents in Georgia. The half of the settlers were either insolvent simply because their richer and extravagant debtors neglected to pay their bills; the other half were the victims of their own extravagance.

There was, at the same time, some outward show of zeal for the cause of religion. Thus, the Rev. John Woolston, being prosecuted for writing four treatises on the birth and miracles of our

Saviour, and treating the subject so as to tend to the subversion of the Christian religion, was found guilty, was sentenced to be fined and imprisoned, and to give security for his future good behavior, himself in 100*l.*, and his sureties in like sum. I mention this case, because similar offence is committed in the days of Queen Victoria, as it was in the time of Queen Caroline. The only difference is that we seldom put the blasphemers to any other bar but that of public opinion, and we leave to Mr. Henry Rogers, and the like gifted champions, to smite the offenders with the tomahawk of argument and proof.

Bad roads and ill-lighted ways are said to be proofs of indifferent civilization, when they are to be found in the neighborhood of great cities. If this be so, then civilization was not greatly advanced among us in this respect, a century and a quarter ago. Thus we read that on the 21st of November, 1730, "the king and queen coming from Kew Green to St. James's, were overturned in their coach, near Lord Peterborough's, at Parson's Green, about six in the evening, the wind having blown out the flambeaux, so that the coachman could not see his way. But their majesties received no hurt, nor the two ladies who were in the coach with them."

If here was want of civilization, there was positive barbarity in other matters. For instance, here is a paragraph from the news of the day, under date, June 10th, 1731. "Joseph Crook, *alias* Sir Peter Stranger, stood in the pillory at Charing Cross, for forging a deed, and after he had stood an hour, a chair was brought to the pillory scaffold, in which he was placed, and the hangman, with a pruning-knife, cut off both his ears, and with a pair of scissors slit both his nostrils, all which he bore with much patience; but when his right nostril was seared with a hot iron, the pain was so violent he could not bear it; whereupon his left nostril was not seared, but he was carried bleeding to a neighboring tavern, where he was as merry at dinner with his friends, after a surgeon had dressed his wounds, as if nothing of the kind had happened. He was afterwards imprisoned for life in the King's Bench, and the issues and profits of his lands were confiscated for his life, according to his sentence."

It was the period when savage punishment was very arbitrarily administered; and shortly after Sir Peter was mangled, without detriment to his gaiety, at Charing Cross, the gallant Captain Petre had very nearly got hanged at Constantinople. That gallant sailor and notable courtier had entertained our ambassador, Lord Kinneal, on board his ship, and honored him, on leaving the vessel at nine o'clock at night, with a salute of fifteen guns. The sultan happened to have gone to bed, and was aroused from his early slumbers by the report. He was so enraged, that he ordered the captain to be seized, bastinadoed, and hanged; and so little were King George and Queen Caroline, and England to boot, thought of in Turkey at that day, that it was with the greatest difficulty that the British ambassador could prevail on the sultan to pardon the offender. The court laughed at the incident. Cromwell would have avenged the affront.

But we must not fancy that we were much less savage in idea or in action at home. There was one John Waller, in 1732, who stood in the pillory in Seven Dials, for falsely swearing against persons whom he accused as highway robbers. The culprit was dreadfully pelted during the hour he stood exposed, but at the end of that time the mob tore him down and trampled him to death. Whether this too was considered a laughable matter at court, is not so certain. Even if so, the courtiers were soon made serious by the universal sickness which prevailed in London in the beginning of the year 1732. Headache and fever were the common symptoms, very few escaped, and a vast number died. In the last week of January, not less than fifteen hundred perished of the epidemic within the bills of mortality. There had not been so severe a visitation since the period of the plague. But our wonder may cease that headache and fever prevailed, when we recollect that gin was being sold, contrary to law, in not less than eight thousand different places in the metropolis, and that drunkenness was not the vice of the lower orders only.

I have here noticed a few of the social traits of the times down to the period of the death of Queen Caroline. To return finally to that queen, it has been truly said of her, that with all her opportunities, she never abused the power which she held over

the king's mind, by employing it for the promotion of her own friends and favorites. This, however, is but negative, or questionable praise. There is, too, an anecdote extant, the tendency of which is to show that she was somewhat given to the enjoyment of uncontrolledly exercising the power she had attained, for her personal purposes. Thus, she had prepared plans for enclosing St. James's Park, shutting out the public, and keeping it for the exclusive pleasure of herself and the royal family. It was by mere chance, when she had matured her plans, that she asked a nobleman connected with the board which then attended to what our board of Woods and Forests neglects, what the carrying out of such a plan might cost. "Madam," said the witty and right-seeing functionary, "such a plan *might* cost three crowns." Caroline was as ready of wit as he, and not only understood the hint, but showed she could apply it, by abandoning her intention.

And yet, she doubtless did so with regret, for gardens and their arrangements were her especial delight; and she *did* succeed in taking a portion of Hyde Park from the public, and throwing the same into Kensington Gardens. The queen thought she compensated for depriving the public of land by giving them more water. There was a rivulet which ran through the park, and this she converted, by help from Hampstead streams and land drainage near at hand, into what is so magniloquently styled the Serpentine River. It is not a river, nor is it serpentine, except by a slight twist of the imagination. It remains an ornament of the park, and a peril to all who linger on its banks. The public health is the last thing cared for by the Board which is supposed to be most concerned with it. Were it otherwise, we might hope that a suggestion in the right direction would be productive of good results; but he who submits to a government office any project tending to promote the welfare, honor, and glory of England, is received with as much cordiality as a wasp in a bee-hive; and so Caroline's Serpentine will continue to stand, stink, and slay.

This queen was equally busy with her gardens at Richmond and at Kew. The king used to praise her for effecting great wonders at little cost; but the fact is, that she contrived to squeeze con-

tributions from the ministry, of which the monarch knew nothing. She had a fondness too, rather than a taste, for garden architecture, and was given to build grottoes and crowd them with statues. A chapter might be written upon the droll juxtaposition to which she brought the counterfeit presentments of defunct sages, warriors, and heroes; but space, happily for the reader, fails to admit of that chapter being written.

I will only add here, that there was one child of George and Caroline more especially anxious than any other to afford her widowed father consolation, on the death of the queen. That child was the haughty Anne, Princess of Orange. She had strong, but most unreasonable, hopes of succeeding to the influence which had so long been enjoyed by her royal mother, and she came over in hot haste from Holland, on the plea of benefiting her health, which was then in a precarious state. The king, however, was quite a match for his ambitious and presuming child, and peremptorily rejected her proffered condolence. This was done with such prompt decision, that the princess was compelled to return to Holland immediately. The king would not allow her, it is said, to pass a second night in the metropolis. He probably remembered her squabbles with his father's "favorite," Miss Brett; and the disconsolate man was not desirous of having his peace disturbed by the renewal of similar scenes with his own "favorite," Lady Yarmouth. It was an exemplary and edifying family!

Of all the eulogies passed upon Caroline, few, if any, were so profuse in their laudation as that contained in a sermon preached before the council at Boston, in America, by the Rev. Samuel Mather. There was not a virtue known which the transatlantic chaplain did not attribute to her. As woman, the minister pronounced her perfect; as queen, she was that and sublime to boot. As regent, she possessed, for the time, the king's wisdom added to her own. Good Mr. Mather too is warrant for the soundness of her faith; and he applied to her the words of Judith: "There was none that gave her an ill word, for she feared God greatly."

William III. is recorded as having said of his consort Mary, that if he could believe any mortal was born without the contagion

of sin, he would believe it of the queen. Upon citing which passage, the Bostonian exclaims: "And oh, gracious Caroline, thy respected consort was ready to make the same observation of thee; so pure, so chaste, so religious wast thou, and so in all good things exemplary, amidst the excesses of a magnificent court, and in an age of luxury and wantonness." And he thus proceeds: "The pious queen was constant at her secret devotions; and she loved the habitation of God's house; and from regard to the divine institutions, with delight and steadiness attended on them. And as she esteemed and practised every duty of piety towards the Almighty, so she detested and frowned on every person and thing that made but an appearance of what was wicked and impious. As she performed every duty incumbent on her towards her beloved subjects, so she deeply reverenced the king; and while his majesty honors her and will grieve for her to his last moments, her royal offspring rise up and call her blessed." And this incidental mention of the royal offspring induces the preacher to grow artistical, and he forthwith paints the following family picture:—

"Seven are the children which she has left behind her. These, like the noble Roman Cornelia, she took to be her chief ornaments. Accordingly, it was both her care and her pleasure to improve their minds and form their manners, that so they might hereafter prove blessings to the nation and the world. What a lovely, heavenly sight must it have been to behold the majestic royal matron, with her faithful and obsequious offspring around her! So the planetary orbs about the sun gravitate towards it, keep their proper distance from it, and receive from it the measures of light and influence respectively belonging to them. Such was—oh, fatal grief!—such was the late most excellent queen."

The issue of the marriage of Caroline and George II. comprised four sons and five daughters—namely, Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales, born January 20th, 1706; Anne, Princess of Orange, born October 22, 1709; Caroline Elizabeth, born May 31, 1713; William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, born April 15th, 1721; the Princess Mary, born February 22, 1723; the Princess Louisa, born December 7, 1724. All these survived the queen. There

was also a prince born in November, 1716, who did not survive his birth; and George William, Duke of Gloucester, born November 2, 1717, who died in February of the year following.

It is only necessary to add further, that at the funeral of Caroline, which was called "decently private," but which was, in truth, marked by much of splendor and ceremony, not the king, but the Princess Amelia, acted as chief mourner, and that the anthem, "The Ways of Zion do mourn," was "set to Musick by Mr. Handell." Of all the verses poured out on the occasion of her death, two specimens are subjoined. They show how the quéen was respectively dealt with by the Democritus and Heraclitus of her subjects:—

"Here lies, lamented by the poor and great—
(Prop of the Church, and glory of the State)—
A woman, late a mighty monarch's queen,
Above all flattery, and above all spleen;
Loved by the good, and hated by the evil,
Pursued, now dead, by satire and the devil.
With steadfast zeal (which kindled in her youth)
A foe to bigotry, a friend to truth;
Too generous for the lust of lawless rule,
Nor Persecution's nor Oppression's tool;
In Locke's, in Clarke's in Hoadley's paths she trod,
Nor fear'd to follow where *they* follow'd God.
To all obliging and to all sincere,
Wise to choose friendships, firm to persevere.
Free without rudeness; great without disdain;
An hypocrite in naught but *hiding pain*.
To courts she taught the rules of just expense,
Join'd with economy, magnificence;
Attention to a kingdom's vast affairs,
Attention to the meanest mortal's cares;
Profusion might consume, or avarice hoard,
'Twas hers to feed, unknown, the scanty board.
Thus of each human excellence possess'd,
With as few faults as e'er attend the best;
Dear to her lord, to all her children dear,
And (to the last her thought, her conscience clear)
Forgiving all, forgiven and approved,
To peaceful worlds her peaceful soul removed."

The above panegyric was drawn up as a reply to an epitaph of

another character, which was then in circulation, from the pen of a writer who contemplated his subject in another point of view. It was to this effect:—

"Here lies unpitied, both by Church and State,
The subject of their flattery and hate;
Flatter'd by those on whom her favors flow'd,
Hated for favors impiously bestow'd;
Who aim'd the Church by Churchmen to betray,
And hoped to share in arbitrary sway.
In Tindal's and in Hoadley's paths she trod,
An hypocrite in all but disbelief in God.
Promoted luxury, encouraged vice.
Herself a sordid slave to avarice.
True friendship's tender love ne'er touch'd her heart,
Falsehood appear'd in vice disguised by art.
Fawning and haughty; when familiar, rude;
And never civil seem'd but to delude.
Inquisitive in trifling, mean affairs,
Heedless of public good or orphan's tears;
To her own offspring mercy she denied,
And, unforgiving, unforgiven died."

CHAPTER X.

THE REIGN OF THE WIDOWER.

THE era of peace ended with Caroline. Walpole endeavored to prolong the era, but Spanish aggression against the English flag in South America drove the ministry into a war. The success of Vernon at Porto Bello rendered the war highly popular. The public enthusiasm was sustained by Anson, but it was materially lowered by our defeat at Carthagena, which prepared the way for the downfall of the minister of Caroline. Numerous and powerful were the opponents of Walpole, and no section of them exhibited more fierceness or better organization than that of which the elder son of Caroline was the founder and great captain.

Frederick, however, was versatile enough to be able to devote as much time to pleasure as to politics.

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In the following year the divisions between the king and the prince made party-spirit run high, and he who followed the sire very unceremoniously denounced the son. To such a one there was a court at St. James's, but none at Carlton House. Walpole tells a story which illustrates at once this feeling, and the sort of wit possessed by the courtiers of the day. "Somebody that belonged to the Prince of Wales said they were going to court. It was objected, that they ought to say 'going to Carlton House;' that the only *court* is where the king resides. Lady Pomfret, with her paltry air of learning and absurdity, said, 'Oh, Lord! is there no *court* in England but the king's? sure, there are many more! There is the *Court* of Chancery, the *Court* of Exchequer, the *Court* of King's Bench, &c.' Don't you love her? Lord Lincoln does her daughter." Lord Lincoln, the nephew of the Duke of Newcastle, the minister, was a frequenter of St. James's, and, says Horace, "not only his uncle-duke, but even majesty is fallen in love with him. He talked to the king at his levée without being spoken to. That was always thought high treason, but I don't know how the gruff gentleman liked it." The gruff gentleman was the king, and the phrase paints him at a stroke, like one of Cruikshank's lines, by which not only is a figure drawn, but expression given to it.

The greatest oddities of the time were not to be found exclusively in the court circle. The mad Duchess of Buckingham, who claimed to have a good right to the privileges of the park, as George I. himself, was still alive, and of note, during part of the reign of George II. Her pride rendered her mad, or rather such pride as hers was, in itself, madness. Proud of being even an illegitimate daughter of James II. forgetting that such pride was only perpetuating the memory of the infamy of her mother, Lady

Dorchester, she looked upon George and Caroline with contempt, and upon herself as the true head of the Jacobite party in England. On one occasion she even went to the Opera *en princesse*, in robes, red velvet, and ermine. When her son, the second Duke of Buckingham, died, she requested the old Duchess of Marlborough to lend her the stately hearse on which the body of the Warrior-Duke had been carried to the grave. The request was tartly, but naturally, declined by the indignant Sarah; whereupon the daughter of James declared she could get as good a hearse for twenty pounds. If the mad duchess could not establish a court, she at least maintained a sort of royal state, and was especially royal and stately in her manners. "I must tell you a story of her," says Walpole. "Last week she sent for Cori, to pay him for her opera-ticket. He was not at home, but went in an hour afterwards. She said, 'Did he treat her like a tradeswoman? She would teach him to respect women of her birth, and bade him come next morning at nine.' He came, and she made him wait till eight at night, only sending him an omelet and a bottle of wine. 'As it was Friday, and he a Catholic, she supposed he did not eat meat.' At length she received him in all the form of a princess giving audience to an ambassador. 'Now,' she said, 'she had punished him.'" After all, if her conduct wore an insane complexion, it was neither so senseless nor so dishonest as that of Lord Brooke, a wavering courtier of the day, who, in the House of Peers, voted one day on one side, the second on the opposite, and the third not at all; thus endeavoring to please king, prince, and himself, and not succeeding with either party.

The prince's party, however, combined with other opponents, effected the overthrow of Caroline's favorite minister, Walpole, in 1742. The succeeding Cabinet, at the head of which was Lord Wilmington, did not very materially differ in principles and measures from that of their predecessors. In the same year died Caroline's other favorite, Lady Sundon, mistress of the robes.

"Lord Sundon is in great grief," says Walpole. "I am surprised, for she has had fits of madness ever since her ambition met such a check by the death of the queen. She had great power with her, though the queen affected to despise her; but had unluckily told her, or fallen into her power by, some secret. I was

saying to Lady Pomfret, 'To be sure, she is dead very rich.' She replied with some warmth, 'She never took money.' When I came home I mentioned this to Sir Robert. 'No,' said he, 'but she took jewels. Lord Pomfret's place of master of the horse to the queen was bought of her for a pair of diamond ear-rings, of fourteen hundred pounds value.' One day that she wore them at a visit at old Marlbro's, as soon as she was gone, the duchess said to Lady Mary Wortley, 'How can that woman have the impudence to go about in that bribe?' 'Madam,' said Lady Mary, 'how would you have people know where wine is to be sold, unless there is a sign hung out?' Sir Robert told me that in the enthusiasm of her vanity, Lady Sundon had proposed to him to unite and govern the kingdom together; he bowed, begged her patronage, but, he said, he thought nobody fit to govern the kingdom but the king and queen." That king, unsustained now by his consort, appears to have become anxious to be reconciled with his son the Prince of Wales, at this time, when reports of a Stuart rebellion began to be rife, and when theatrical audiences applied passages in plays, in a favorable sense, to the prince. The reconciliation was effected; but it was clumsily contrived, and was coldly and awkwardly concluded. An agent from the king induced the prince to open the way by writing to his father. This was a step which the prince was reluctant to take, and which he only took at last with the worst possible grace. The letter reached the king late at night, and on reading it he appointed the following day for the reception of Frederick, who, with five gentlemen of his court, repaired to St. James's, where he was received by "the gruff gentleman," in the drawing-room. The yielding sire simply asked him, "How does the princess do? I hope she is well." The dutiful son answered the query, kissed the paternal hand, and respectfully, as far as outward demonstration could evidence it, took his leave. He did not depart, however, until he had distinguished those courtiers present whom he held to be his friends, by speaking to them; the rest he passed coldly by. As the reconciliation was accounted of as an accomplished fact, and as the king had condescended to speak a word or two to some of the most intimate friends of his son; and finally, as the entire royal family went together to the Duchess of

Norfolk's, where "the streets were illuminated and bonfired;" there was a great passing to and fro of courtiers, of either faction, between St. James's and Carlton House. Secker, who went to the latter residence with Benton, Bishop of Gloucester, to pay his respects, says that the prince and princess were *civil* to both of them.

The reconciliation was worth an additional fifty thousand pounds a year to the prince, so that obedience to a father could hardly be more munificently rewarded. "He will have money now," says Walpole, "to tune up Glover, and Thomson, and Dodsley again:—

Et spes et ratio studiorum in Cæsare tantum."

There was much outward show of gladness at this court, pageants and "reviews to gladden the heart of David and triumphs of Absalom," as Walpole profanely styles his majesty and the heir-apparent. The latter, with the princess, went "in great parade through the city and the dust to dine at Greenwich." They took water at the Tower, and trumpeting away to Grace Tosiers—

Like Cimon, trampled over land and wave.

In another direction there were some lively proceedings, which would have amused Caroline herself. Tranquil and dull as Kensington Palace looks, its apartments were occasionally the scene of more rude than royal *fracas*. Thus we are told of one of the daughters of the king pulling a chair from under the Countess Deloraine, just as that not too exemplary lady was about to sit down to cards. His majesty laughed at the lady's tumble, at which she was so doubly pained, that watching for revenge and opportunity, she contrived to give the sovereign just such another fall. The sacred person of the king was considerably bruised, and the trick procured nothing more for the countess than exclusion from court, where her place of favor was exclusively occupied by Madame Walmoden, Countess of Yarmouth, who had been brought over to England immediately after the death of Caroline.

We often hear of the wits of one era being the butts of the next, and without wit enough left to escape the shafts let fly at them. Walpole thus describes a drawing-room held at St. James's

to which some courtiers resorted in the dresses they had worn under Queen Anne. "There were so many new faces," says Horace, "that I scarce knew where I was; I should have taken it for Carlton House, or my Lady Mayoress's visiting day, only the people did not seem enough at home, but rather, as admitted, to see the king dine in public. It is quite ridiculous to see the number of old ladies, who, from having been wives of patriots, have not been dressed these twenty years; out they come with all the accoutrements that were in use in Queen Anne's days. Then the joy and awkward jollity of them is inexpressible; they titter, and wherever you meet them, they are always going to court, and looking at their watches an hour before the time. I met several at the birth-day, and they were dressed in all the colors of the rainbow; they seem to have said to themselves twenty years ago: 'Well! if I ever do go to court again, I will have a pink and silver, or a blue and silver,' and they kept their resolutions."

The English people had now been long looking towards that great battle-field of Europe, Flanders, mingling memories of past triumphs with hopes of future victories. George II. went heartily into the cause of Maria Theresa, when the French sought to deprive her of her imperial inheritance. In the campaign which ensued was fought that battle of Dettingen which Lord Stair so nearly lost, where George behaved so bravely, mounted or a-foot, and where the Scots Greys enacted their bloody and triumphant duel with the gens-d'armes of France.

Meanwhile, Frederick was unemployed. When the king and the Duke of Cumberland proceeded to the army in Flanders, a regency was formed, of which Walpole says, "I think the prince might have been of it when Lord Gower is. I don't think the latter more Jacobite than his royal highness."

When the king and the duke returned from their triumphs on the continent, the former younger for his achievements, the latter older by the gout and an accompanying limp, London gave them a reception worthy of the most renowned of heroes. In proportion as the king saw himself popular with the citizens, did he cool towards the Prince of Wales. The latter, with his two sisters, stood on the stairs of St. James's Palace to receive the chief hero;

but though the princess was only confined the day before, and Prince George lay ill of the small-pox, the king passed by his son without offering him a word or otherwise noticing him. This rendered the king unpopular, without turning the popular affection towards the eldest son of Caroline. Nor was that son deserving of such affection. His heart had few sympathies for England, nor was he elated by her victories or made sad by her defeats. On the contrary, in 1745, when the news arrived in England of the "tristis gloria," the illustrious disaster at Fontenoy, which made so many hearts in England desolate, Frederick went to the theatre in the evening, and two days after he wrote a French ballad, "Bacchic, Anacreontic, and Erotic," addressed to those ladies with whom he was going to act in Congreve's masque of "The Judgment of Paris." It was full of praise of late and deep drinking, of intercourse with the fair, of stoical contempt for misfortune, of expressed indifference whether Europe had one or many tyrants, and of a pococurantism for all things and forms except his *chère Sylvie*, by whom he was good-naturedly supposed to mean his wife. But this solitary civility cannot induce us to change our self-gratulation at the fact that a man with such a heart was not permitted to ascend the throne of Great Britain. In the year after he wrote the ballad alluded to, he created a new opposition against the crown, by the counsels of Lord Bath, "who got him from Lord Granville: the latter and his faction acted with the court." Of the princess, Walpole says, "I firmly believe, by all her quiet sense, she will turn out a Caroline."

The princess had a rather precocious daughter in the "Lady Augusta." In this year, 1743, at a reception at Leicester House, the children of the Prince and Princess of Wales were in the circle. The little Lady Augusta, future mother of a Queen of England, whose life we shall have to narrate, exhibited herself in a light that lends but a sad aspect to the royal education imparted in those times. The little princess heard some one call Sir Robert Reed by his knightly title and his christian name. She at once concluded that he was Sir Robert Walpole (then, indeed, Lord Orford), and she "went staring up to him, and said, 'Pray, where is your blue string?—and, pray, what has become of your

fat belly?'" It is a pity that a child quick enough to take popular impressions of caricatured statesmen, had not had her faculties employed to better purpose. She never was much wiser, and poor Caroline of Brunswick was not unlike her mother.

While precocious young ladies were growing up, celebrated old ones were passing away. In this year died that favorite of George I. who more than any other woman had enjoyed in his household and heart the place which should have belonged to his wife, Sophia Dorothea. This Mademoiselle von Schulemberg, of the days of the Electorate, died Duchess of Kendal by favor of the King of England, and Princess of Eberstein by favor of the Emperor of Germany. So had earthly potentates delighted to honor earthly infamy. She died at the age of eighty-five, immensely rich. Her wealth was inherited by her so-called "niece," Lady Walsingham, who married Lord Chesterfield. "But I believe," says Walpole, "that he will get nothing by the duchess's death—but his wife. She lived in the house with the duchess, where he had played away all his credit."

George loved to hear his Dettingen glories eulogized in annual odes sung before him. But brave as he was, he had not much cause for boasting. The Dettingen laurels were changed into cypress at Fontenoy by the Duke of Cumberland in 1744, whose suppression of the Scottish rebellion in 1745 gained for him more credit than he deserved. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which our continental war was concluded in 1748, gave peace to England, but little or no glory.

The intervening years were years of interest to some of the children of Caroline. Thus, in June, 1746, the Prince of Hesse came over to England to marry the second daughter of Caroline, the Princess Mary. He was royally entertained, but on one occasion he met with an accident which Walpole calls "a most ridiculous tumble t'other night at the opera. They had not pegged up his box tight after the ridotto, and down he came on all fours. George Selwyn says he carried it off with an *unembarrassed* countenance."

In a year Mary was glad to escape from the brutality of her husband, and repair to England, under pretext of being obliged

to drink the Bath waters. She was an especial favorite with her brother, the Duke of Cumberland, and with the Princess Caroline.

The result of this marriage gave little trouble to the king. He was much more annoyed when the Prince of Wales formally declared a new opposition (in 1747), which was never to subside till he was on the throne. "He began it pretty handsomely, the other day," says Walpole, "with 143 to 184, which has frightened the ministry like a bomb. This new party wants nothing but heads; though not having any," says Horace, wittily, "to be sure the struggle is fairer." It was led by Lord Baltimore, a man with "a good deal of jumbled knowledge." The spirit of the father certainly dwelt in some of his children. The king, we are told, sent Steinberg, on one occasion, to examine the prince's children in their learning. The boy acquitted himself well in his Latin grammar, but Steinberg told him it would please his majesty and profit the prince, if the latter would attend more to attaining proficiency in the German language. "German, German!" said the boy, "any dull child can learn that!" The prince, as he said it, "squinted" at the baron, and the baron was doubtless but little flattered by the remark, or the look, of the boy. The king was probably as surprised, and as little pleased to hear the remark, as he was a few months later to discover that the Prince of Wales and the Jacobite party had united in a combined parliamentary opposition against the government. However, Prince Edward's remark and the Prince of Wales's opposition did not prevent the king from conferring the Order of the Garter on the little Prince George, in 1749. The youthful knight, afterwards King of England, was carried in his father's arms to the door of the king's closet. There the Duke of Dorset received him, and carried him to the king. The boy then commenced a speech, which had been taught him by his tutor, Ayscough, Dean of Bristol. His father no sooner heard the oration commenced, than he interrupted its progress, by a vehement "No, no!" The boy, embarrassed, stopped short, then after a moment of hesitation, recommenced his complimentary harangue; but with the opening words, again came the prohibitory "No, no!" from the prince, and thus was the eloquence of the young chevalier rudely silenced.

But it was not only the peace of the king, his very palaces were put in peril at this time. The installation of Lady Yarmouth at Kensington, after the fracas occasioned by Lady Deloraine, had nearly resulted in the destruction of the palace. Lady Yarmouth resided in the room which had been occupied by Lady Suffolk, who disregarded damp and cared nothing for the crop of fungi raised by it in her room. Not so Lady Yarmouth, at least after she had contracted an ague. She then kept up such a fire that the woodwork caught, and destruction to the edifice was near upon following. There were vacant chambers enough, and sufficiently comfortable, but the king would not allow them to be inhabited even by his favorite. "The king hoards all he can," writes Walpole, "and has locked up half the palace since the queen's death; so he does at St. James's, and I believe would put the rooms out at interest if he could get a closet a year for them."

The division which had again sprung up between sire and son daily widened until death relieved the former of his permanent source of vexation. This event took place in 1751. Some few years previous to that period, the Prince of Wales, when playing at tennis or cricket, at Cliefden, received a blow from a ball, which gave him some pain, but of which he thought little. It was neglected, and one result of such neglect was a permanent weakness of the lungs. In the early part of this year, he had suffered from pleurisy, but had recovered—at least, partially recovered. A previous fall from his horse had rendered him more than usually delicate. Early in March he had been in attendance at the House of Lords, on occasion of the king, his father, giving his royal sanction to some bills. This done, the prince returned, much heated, in a chair, with the windows down, to Carlton House. He changed his dress, put on light, unaired clothing, and as if *that* had not been perilous enough, he had the madness, after hurrying to Kew, and walking about the gardens there in very inclement weather, to lie down for three hours after his return to Carlton House, upon a couch in a very cold room that opened upon the gardens. Lord Egmont suggested the danger of such a course; the prince laughed at the thought. He was as obstinate as his father, to whom Sir Robert Walpole once observed, on

finding him equally intractable during a fit of illness, "Sir, do you know what your father died of? Of thinking he could not die." The prince, in like manner, ridiculed good counsel, and before the next morning his life was in danger. He rallied, and during one of his hours of least suffering he sent for his eldest son, and embracing him with unaffected tenderness, remarked, "Come, George, let us be good friends while we are permitted to be so." Three physicians, with Wilmot and Hawkins, the surgeons, were in constant attendance upon him, and, curiously enough, their united wisdom pronounced that the prince was out of danger, only the day before he died. Then came a relapse, an eruption of the skin, a marked difficulty of breathing, and an increase of cough. Still he was not considered in danger. Some members of his family were at cards in the adjacent room, and Desnoyers, the celebrated dancing-master, who, like St. Leon, was as good a violinist as he was a dancer, was playing the violin at the prince's bedside, when the latter was seized with a violent fit of coughing. When this had ceased, Wilmot expressed a hope that his royal patient would be better, and would pass a quiet night. Hawkins detected symptoms which he thought of great gravity. The cough returned with increased violence, and Frederick, placing his hand upon his stomach, murmured feebly: "*Je sens la mort!*" ("I feel death!") Desnoyers held him up, and feeling him shiver, exclaimed: "The prince is going!" At that moment, the Princess of Wales was at the foot of the bed; she caught up a candle, rushed to the head of the bed, and, bending down over her husband's face, she saw that he was dead.

So ended the wayward life of the eldest son of Caroline; so terminated the married life of him which began so gaily when he was gliding about the crowd in his nuptial chamber, in a gown and night-cap of silver tissue. The bursting of an imposthume between the pericardium and diaphragm, the matter of which fell upon the lungs, suddenly killed *him* whom the heralds called "high and mighty prince," and the heir to a throne lay dead in the arms of a French fiddler. *Les extrèmes se touchent!*—though Desnoyers, be it said, was quite as honest a man as his master.

Intelligence of the death of his son was immediately conveyed to

George the Second, by Lord North. The king was at Kensington, and when the messenger stood at his side and communicated in a whisper the doleful news, his majesty was looking over a card-table, at which the players were the Princess Amelia, the Duchess of Dorset, the Duke of Grafton, and the Countess of Yarmouth. He turned to the messenger, and merely remarked in a low voice: "Dead, is he? Why, they told me he was better;" and then, going round to his mistress, the Countess of Yarmouth, he very calmly observed to her: "Countess, Fred is gone!" And that was all the sorrow expressed by a father at the loss of a first-born boy who had outlived his father's love. The king, however, sent kind messages to the widow, who exhibited on the occasion much courage and sense.

As the prince died without priestly aid, so was his funeral unattended by a single bishop to do him honor or pay him respect. With the exception of Frederick's own household and the lords appointed to hold the pall, "there was not present one English lord, not one bishop, and only one Irish peer (Limerick), two sons of dukes, one baron's son, and two privy councillors." It was not that want of respect was intentional, but that no due notice was issued from any office as to the arrangements of the funeral. The body was carried from the House of Lords to Westminster Abbey, but without a canopy, and the funeral service was performed undignified by either anthem or organ.

But the prince's friend, Bubb Dodington, poured out a sufficient quantity of expressed grief to serve the entire nation, and make up for all lack of ceremony or of sorrow elsewhere. In a letter to Mann, he swore that the prince was the delight, ornament, and expectation of the world. In losing him, the wretched had lost their refuge, balm, and shelter. Art, science, and grace had to deplore the loss of a patron, and, in that loss, a remedy for the ills of society had perished also! "Bubb de Tristibus" goes on to say that *he* had lost more than any other man by the death of the prince, seeing that his highness had condescended to stoop to him, and be his own familiar friend. Bubb protested that if he ever allowed the wounds of his grief to heal he should be forever infamous, and finally running a muck with his figures of speech,

he declares:—"I should be unworthy of all consolation if I was not inconsolable." This is the spirit of a partisan, but, on the other side, the spirit of party was never exhibited in a more malignantly petty aspect than on the occasion of the death of the prince. The gentlemen of his bedchamber were ordered to be in attendance near the body, from ten in the morning till the conclusion of the funeral. The government, however, would order them no refreshment, and the board of green cloth would provide them with none, without such order. Even though princes die, *il faut que tout le monde vive*, and, accordingly, these poor gentlemen sent to a neighboring tavern, and gave orders for a cold dinner to be furnished them. The authorities were too tardily ashamed of thus insulting faithful servants of rank and distinction, and commanded the necessary refreshments to be provided. They were accepted, but the tavern dinner was paid for and given to the poor.

The widowed Augusta, who had throughout her married life exhibited much mental superiority, with great kindness of disposition, and that under circumstances of great difficulty, and sometimes of a character to inflict vexation on the calmest nature, remained in the room by the side of the corpse of her husband for full four hours, unwilling to believe in the assurances given her that he was really dead. She was, then, the mother of eight children, expecting to be shortly the mother of a ninth, and she was brought reluctantly to acknowledge that their father was no more. It was six in the morning before her attendants could persuade her to retire to bed, but she rose again at eight, and then, with less thought for her grief than anxiety for the honor of him whose death was the cause of it, she proceeded to the prince's room, and burned the whole of his private papers. By this action, the world lost some rare supplementary chapters to a *Chronique Scandaleuse*.

The prince's party had been at the height, if not of power, at least of satisfaction at the prospect of it, in January, 1751, when the subsidiary treaties with Germany had rendered the king's government exceedingly unpopular. The party was further elated by the expected secession of Lord Cobham and several of his follow-

ers from the ranks of the ministry to those of the prince and opposition. But the death of Frederick disconcerted all the measures of intriguing men, and brought about a great change in the councils of the court as of the factions opposed to the court. "The death of our prince," wrote Whitfield, "has afflicted you. It has given me a shock, but the Lord reigneth, and that is my comfort." The Duchess of Somerset, writing to Dr. Doddridge, says on the same subject: "Providence seems to have directed the blow where we thought ourselves the most secure; for among the many schemes of hopes and fears which people were laying down to themselves, this was never mentioned as a supposable event. The harmony which appears to subsist between his majesty and the Princess of Wales is the best support for the spirits of the nation, under their present concern and astonishment. He died in the forty-fifth year of his age, and is generally allowed to have been a prince of amiable and generous disposition, of elegant manners, and of considerable talents."

The opposition which the prince had maintained against the government of the father who had provoked him to it, was not an undignified one. Unlike his sire, he did not "hate both bainting and boetry;" and painters and poets were welcome at his court, as were philosophers and statesmen. It was only required that they should be adverse to Walpole. Among them were the able and urbane wits, Chesterfield and Carteret, Pulteney and Sir William Wyndham; the aspiring young men, Pitt, Lyttelton, and the Grenvilles: Swift, Pope, and Thomson, lent their names and pens to the prince's service, while astute and fiery Bolingbroke aimed to govern in the circle where he affected to serve.

All the reflections made upon the death of the prince were not so simple of quality as those of the Duchess of Somerset. Horace Walpole cites a preacher at Mayfair Chapel, who "improved" the occasion after this not very satisfactory or conclusive fashion: "He had no great parts, but he had great virtues—indeed, they degenerated into vices. He was very generous; but I hear his generosity has ruined a great many people; and then, his condescension was such that he kept very bad company." Not less known, and yet claiming a place here, is the smart Jacobite epitaph, so little

flattering to the dead, that had all Spartan epitaphs been as little laudatory, the Ephori would never have issued a decree entirely prohibiting them. It was to this effect:

Here lies Fred,
Who was alive and is dead!
Had it been his father,
I had much rather.
Had it been his brother,
Still better than another.
Had it been his sister,
No one could have missed her.
Had it been the whole generation,
Still better for the nation:
But since 'tis only Fred,
Who was alive and is dead,
There is no more to be said.

I have not mentioned among those who were the frequenters of his court, the name of Lady Huntingdon. With her lord and her young and worthless kinsman, the assassin Lord Ferrars, she was often in the gay and intriguing circle, until her mind became directed in pursuit of a better object. Her withdrawal brought down upon her a shower of ridicule, and the "beast" family were as loudly unclean in their remarks upon herself and Whitfield as on a recent occasion, when those nasty, prurient people, affected to turn up their noses with a shocked sense, as by something impure, at the idea of Miss Nightingale tending the wounded and dying men in the hospital at Scutari. Frederick had the good sense to appreciate Lady Huntingdon, and he did not despise her because of a little misdirected enthusiasm. On missing her from his circle, he inquired of the gay, but subsequently the godly, Lady Charlotte Edwin, where Lady Huntingdon could be, that he no longer saw her at his court. "Oh, I dare say," exclaimed the unconcerned Lady Charlotte—"I dare say she is praying with her beggars." Frederick had the good sense and the courage to turn sharply round upon her, and say: "Lady Charlotte, when I am dying I think I shall be happy to seize the skirt of Lady Huntingdon's mantle to lift me up to Heaven." This phrase was not forgotten

when the adapter of Cibber's "Non-juror" turned that play into the "Hypocrite," and introducing the fanatic Mawworm, put into his mouth a sentiment uttered for the sake of the laugh which it never failed to raise, but which originated, in sober sadness, with Frederick Prince of Wales.

The truth is that the character of Caroline's son was full of contradictions; contrarieties would be, perhaps, a better word. He had low tastes, but he also possessed those of a gentleman and a prince. When the *Rambler* first appeared, he so enjoyed its stately wisdom, that he sought after the author, in order to serve him, if he needed service. His method of "serving" an author was not mere lip compliment. Pope, indeed, might be satisfied with receiving from him a complimentary visit at Twickenham. The poet there was on equal terms with the prince; and when the latter asked how it was that the author who hurled his shafts against kings could be so friendly towards the son of a king—Pope somewhat pertly answered, that he who dreaded the lion might safely enough fondle the cub. But Frederick could really be princely to authors; and what is even more, he could do a good action gracefully, an immense point when there is a good action to be done. Thus to Tindal, he sent a gold medal worth forty guineas; and to dry and dusty Glover, for whose *Leonidas* he had as much respect as Montgomery had for the poem of *Alfred*, he sent a note for 500*l.*, when the poet was in difficulties. This handsome gift, too, was sent unasked. The son of song was honored and not humiliated by the gift. It does not matter whether Lyttelton, or any one else, taught him to be the patron of literature and literary men; it is to his credit that he recognized them, acknowledged their services, and saw them with pleasure at his little court, often giving them precedence over those whose greatness was the mere result of the accident of birth. Like the King of Prussia, he not only protected poets, but he wooed the muse. Those shy ladies, however, loved him none the better for being a benefactor to their acknowledged children. The rhymes of Frederick were generally devoted to the ecstatic praises of his wife. The matter was good, but the manner was execrable. The lady deserved all that was said, but her virtues merited a more gracefully skilful eulogist.

The reasoning was perfect, but the rhymes halted abominably. But how could it be otherwise? Apollo himself would not stoop to inspire a writer who, while piling up poetical compliments above the head of his blameless wife, was paying adoration, at all events not less sincere, to most worthless ladies of the court. The apparently exemplary father, within the circle of home, where presided a beautiful mother, over a bright young family, was a wretched libertine outside of that circle. His sin was great, and his taste of the vilest. His "favorites" had nothing of youth, beauty, or intellect to distinguish them, or to serve for the poor apology of infidelity. Lady Archibald Hamilton was plain and in years when she enjoyed her bad pre-eminence. Miss Vane was impudent and a maid of honor, by office; nothing else: while Lady Middlesex was "short and dark, like a cold winter's night," and as yellow as a November morning. Notwithstanding this, he played the father and husband well, and in some respects, sincerely well—if I may use such a term. He loved to have his children with him, always appeared most happy when in the bosom of his family: left them with regret, and met them again with smiles, kisses, and tears. He walked the streets unattended, to the great delight of the people; was the presiding Apollo at great festivals, conferred the prizes at rowings and racings, and talked familiarly with Thames fishermen on the mysteries of their craft. He would enter the cottages of the poor, listen with patience to their twice-told tales, and partake with relish of the humble fare presented to him. So did the old soldier find in him a ready listener to the story of his campaigns, and the subject of his petitions; and never did the illustriously maimed appeal to him in vain. He was a man to be loved in spite of all his vices. He would have been adored had his virtues been more, or more real. But his virtue was too often only like his love for popular and parliamentary liberty, rather affected than real; and, at all events, not to be relied upon. When a deputation of Quakers waited on him to solicit him to support by himself and friends a clause of the Tything bill, in their favor, he replied: "As I am a friend to liberty in general, and to toleration in particular, I wish you may meet with all proper favor; but, for myself, I never gave my vote in parliament, and

to influence my friends, or direct my servants in theirs, does not become my station. To leave them entirely to their own consciences and understandings, is a rule I have hitherto prescribed to myself, and purpose through life to observe." Andrew Pitt, who was at the head of the deputation, replied, "May it please the Prince of Wales, I am greatly affected with thy excellent notions of liberty, and am more pleased with the answer thou hast given us than if thou hadst granted our request." But the answer was *not* a sincere one, and the parliamentary friends and servants of the prince were expected to hold their consciences at his direction. Once, Lord Doneraile ventured to disregard this influence; upon which the prince observed, "Does he think that I will support him unless he will do as I would have him? Does he not consider that whoever may be my ministers, I must be king?" Of such a man Walpole's remark was not far wide of truth, when he said that Frederick resembled the Black Prince only in one circumstance—in dying before his father!

He certainly exhibited little of the chivalrous spirit of the Black Prince. In 1745, vexed at not being promoted to the command of the army raised to crush the rebellion, and especially annoyed that it was given to his brother, the Duke of Cumberland, who had less vanity and more courage, he ridiculed all the strategic dispositions of the authorities, and when Carlisle was being besieged by the rebels, a representation in paste of the citadel was served up at his table, at dessert, which, at the head of the maids of honor, he bombarded with sugar-plums.

The young Prince George, afterwards George III., "behaved excessively well on his father's death." The words are Walpole's; and he establishes his attestation by recording, that when he was informed of his father's decease, he turned pale and laid his hand on his breast. Upon which his reverend tutor, Ayscough, said, very much like a simpleton, and not at all like a divine, "I am afraid, sir, you are not well." "I feel," said the boy, "something here, just as I did when I saw the two workmen fall from the scaffold at Kew." It was not the speech of a boy of parts, nor an epitaph deeply filial in sentiment on the death of a parent, but one can see that the young prince was conscious of some painful grief,

though he hardly knew how to dress his sensations in equivalent words.

Before leaving this subject, I may notice an incident in connection with another son of Frederick, namely, Edward, Duke of York, "a very plain boy, with strange loose eyes, but was much the favorite. He is a sayer of things," remarks Walpole. Nine years after his father's death, he had occasion to pay as warm a compliment to Lady Huntingdon as ever had been paid her by his father. The occasion was a visit to the Magdalen, in 1760. A large party accompanied Prince Edward from Northumberland House to the evening service. They were rather wits than worshippers, for among them were Horace Walpole, Colonel Brudenell, Lord Hertford, and Lords Huntingdon and Dartmouth to keep the wits within decent limits. The ladies were all gay in silks, satins, and rose-colored taffeta; there were the Lady Northumberland herself, Ladies Chesterfield, Carlisle, Dartmouth, and Hertford, Lady Fanny Shirley, Lady Selina Hastings, Lady Gertrude Hotham, and Lady Mary Coke. Lord Hertford, at the head of the governors, met the prince and his brilliant suite at the doors, and conducted him to a sort of throne in front of the altar. The clergyman, who preached an eloquent and impressive sermon from Luke xix. 20, was, not many years after, dragged from Newgate to Tyburn, and there ignominiously hung. How witty Walpole would have been upon him, could the joker have only seen a little way into futurity! How sarcastic he would have been upon sinners in a state of suspense! As it was, he, or some other of the company, sneeringly observed that Dr. Dodd had preached a very Methodistical sort of sermon. "You are fastidious indeed," said Prince Edward to the objector. "I thought it excellent, and suitable to season and place; and in so thinking, I have the honor of being of the same opinion as Lady Huntingdon here, and I rather fancy that she is better versed in theology than any of us." This was true, and it was gracefully said. The prince, moreover, backed his opinion by leaving a fifty pound note in the plate; and I hope that when Dr. Dodd saw it, he did not break the tenth commandment.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LAST YEARS OF A REIGN.

THE last nine years of the reign of the consort of Caroline were of a very varied character. The earliest of his acts after the death of Frederick, was one of which Caroline would certainly not have approved. In case of his demise before the next heir to the throne should be of age, he, with consent of parliament, named the widow of Frederick as regent of the kingdom. This appointment gave great umbrage to the favorite son of Caroline, William, Duke of Cumberland, and it was one to which Caroline herself would never have consented.

But George now cared little for what the opinion of Caroline *might* have been; and the remainder of his days were spent amid death, gaiety, and politics. The year in which Frederick died was marked by the decease of the husband of Caroline's eldest daughter, of whose plainness, wooing, and marriage, I have previously spoken. The Prince of Orange died on the 11th of October, 1751. He had not improved in beauty since his marriage, but, increasingly ugly as he became, his wife became also increasingly jealous of him. Importunate, however, as the jealousy was, it had the merit of being founded on honest and healthy affection. An honest affection, at all events; for to call that affection healthy, on whose beauty hangs the troublesome wen of jealousy, is perhaps going too far. Walpole says, "The prince is dead, killed by the waters of Aix-la-Chapelle. The Princess Royal was established regent some time ago; but as her husband's authority seemed extremely tottering, it is not likely that she will be able to maintain hers. Her health is extremely bad, and her temper is neither ingratiating nor bending. It is become the peculiarity of the House of Orange to have minorities."

The immediate cause of the prince's death was an imposthume in the head. Although his health had been indifferent, his death was rather sudden and unexpected. Lord Holdernesse was sent over to England by the king, Walpole says, "to learn rather than to teach," but certainly with letters of condolence to Caroline's widowed daughter. She is said to have received the paternal sympathy and advice in the most haughty and insulting manner. She was proud, perhaps, of being made the *gouvernante* of her son; and she probably remembered the peremptory rejection by her father of the interested sympathy she herself had offered him on the decease of her mother, to whose credit she had hoped to succeed at St. James's. It is certain that, as has been stated, no part of her consequent conduct evinced any proof of either good sense or political wisdom.

But George himself had little sympathy to spare, and felt no immoderate grief for the death of either son or son-in-law. On the 6th of November, 1751, within a month of the prince's death, and not very many after that of his son and heir to the throne, George was at Drury Lane Theatre. The entertainment played for his especial pleasure consisted of Farquhar's *Beaux Stratagem* and Fielding's *Intriguing Chambermaid*. In the former, the king was exceedingly fond of the *Foigard* of Yates, and the *Cherry* of Miss Minors. In the latter piece, Mrs. Clive played her original part of *Lettice*, a part in which she had then delighted the town—a town which could be delighted with such parts—for now seventeen years. Walpole thus relates an incident of the night. He is writing to Sir Horace Mann, from Arlington Street, under the date of November 22, 1751. "A certain king, that, whatever airs you may give yourself, you are not at all like, was last week at the play. The intriguing chambermaid in the farce, says to the old gentleman, 'You are villanously old; you are sixty-six; you can't have the impudence to think of living above two years.' The old gentleman in the stage box turned about in a passion, and said, 'This is d—d stuff!'"

George was right in his criticism, but rather coarse than kinglike in expressing it. Walpole too, it may be noticed, misquotes what his friend Mrs. Clive said in her character of Lettice, and he

misquotes evidently for the purpose of making the story more pointed against the king, who was as sensitive upon the point of age as Louis XIV. himself. Lettice does not say to Oldcastle "you are villanously old." She merely states the three obstacles to Oldcastle marrying her young mistress. "In the first place your great age, you are at least some sixty-six. Then there is, in the second place, your terrible ungenteel air; and thirdly, that horrible face of yours, which it is impossible for any one to see without being frightened." She does, however, add a phrase which must have sounded harshly on the ear of a sensitive and sexagenarian king: though not more so than on that of any other auditor of the same age. "I think you could not have the conscience to live above a year, or a year and a half at most." The royal criticism then was correct, however roughly expressed, and it was because such criticism had often to be so expressed that we wonder at Fielding's own ignorance, when he says in his dedication of this piece to Mrs. Clive: "It is your misfortune to bring the greatest genius for acting on the stage, at a time when the factions and divisions among the players have conspired with the folly, injustice, and barbarity of the town, to finish the ruin of the stage, and sacrifice our own native entertainments to a wanton affected fondness for foreign music; and when our nobility seem eagerly to rival each other in distinguishing themselves in favor of Italian theatres, and in neglect of our own." Fielding's own piece justifies the nobility, and the king's condemnatory criticism is only the pungent quintessence of the public opinion. At the Italian Opera there was at all events some of the "—— stuff" which the king condemned, loudly enough, for all to hear, from his box in Drury Lane.

In this same year, 1751, died another of the children of George and Caroline—Louisa, Queen of Denmark. She had only reached her twenty-seventh year, and had been eight years married. Her mother loved her, and the nation admired her for her grace, amiability, and talents. Her career, in many respects, resembled her mother's. She was married to a king who kept a mistress, in order that the world should think he was independent of all influence on the part of his wife. She was basely treated by this king, but not

a word of complaint against him entered into the letters which this spirited and sensible woman addressed to her relations. Indeed, she had said at the time of her marriage—that if she should become unhappy, her family should never know anything about it. She died in the flower of her age, a terrible death, as Walpole calls it, and after an operation which lasted an hour. The cause of it was the neglect of a slight rupture, occasioned by stooping suddenly when *enceinte*, the injury resulting from which she imprudently and foolishly concealed. This is all the more strange, as her mother, on her death-bed, said to her, "Louisa, remember I die by being giddy and obstinate, in having kept my disorder a secret." Her farewell letter to her father and family, a most touching address, and the similitude of her fate to that of her mother, sensibly affected the almost dried-up heart of the king. "This has been a fatal year to my family," groaned the son of Sophia Dorothea. "I lost my eldest son, *but I was glad of it.* Then the Prince of Orange died, and left everything in confusion. Poor little Edward has been cut open for an imposthume in his side; and now the Queen of Denmark is gone! I know I did not love my children when they were young; I hated to have them coming into the room, but now I love them as well as most fathers."

But while death was busy in the palace of the king as well as among the homes of the people, there was one abroad who was teaching how the sting might be taken from death, and victory won from the grave. Whitfield was then touching many a heart, though there were some who refused to heed his instruction.

The Countess of Suffolk was among the few persons whom the eloquence and fervor of Whitfield failed to touch. When this latter was chaplain to Lady Huntingdon, and in the habit of preaching in the drawing-room of that excellent and exemplary woman, there was an eager desire to be among the privileged to be admitted to hear him. This privilege was solicited of Lady Huntingdon by Lady Rockingham, for the king's ex-favorite, Lady Suffolk. The patroness of Whitfield thought of Magdalen repentant, and expressed her readiness to welcome her, an additional sheep to an increasing flock. The beauty came, and Whitfield preached neither more nor less earnestly, unconscious of her

presence. So searching, however, was his sermon, and so readily could the enraged fair one apply its terrible truths to herself, that it was only with difficulty she could sit it out with apparent calm. Inwardly, she felt that she had been the especial object at which her assailant had flung his sharpest arrows. Accordingly, when Whitfield had retired, the exquisite fury, chafed but not repentant, turned upon the meditative Lady Huntingdon, and well nigh annihilated her with the torrent and power of her invective. Her sister-in-law, Lady Betty Germain, implored her to be silent; but only the more unreservedly did she empty the vials of her wrath upon the saintly lady of the house, who was lost in astonishment, anger, and confusion. Old Lady Bertie and the Dowager Duchess of Ancaster rose to her rescue; and, by right of their relationship with the lady whom the king delighted to honor, required her to be silent or civil. It was all in vain; the irritated fair one maintained that she had been brought there to be pilloried by the preacher; and she finally swept out of the room, leaving behind her an assembly in various attitudes of wonder and alarm, some fairly deafened by the thundering echoes of her expressed wrath, others at a loss to decide whether Lady Huntingdon had or had not directed the arrows of the preacher, and all most charmingly unconscious that, be that as it might, the lady was only smarting because she had rubbed against a sermon bristling with the most stinging truths.

It is impossible to say whether Whitfield was or was not conscious of the presence of such a listener to the message which he thundered to arouse listeners, but it is certain that he made note of those of the royal household who repaired to the services over which he presided in Lady Huntingdon's house. In 1752, when he saw regularly attending among his congregation one of Queen Caroline's ladies, Mrs. Grinfield, he writes thereupon: "One of Cæsar's household hath been lately awakened by her ladyship's instrumentality, and I hope others will meet with the like blessing." Many of Cæsar's household were among the hearers of this energetic preacher in the days when George III. was king, but whether his hearers were heeders also, I will not pretend to deter-

mine; though I may add, that Lord Dartmouth at least was ever esteemed for his piety and prudence.

In 1755, England and France were at issue touching their possessions in Canada. The dispute resulted in a war; and the war brought with it the temporary loss of the Electorate of Hanover to England, and much additional disgrace, which last was not wiped out till the great Pitt was at the helm, and by his spirited administration helped England to triumph in every quarter of the globe. Amid misfortune or victory, however, the king, as outwardly "impassible" as ever, took also less active share in public events than he did of old; and he lived with the regularity of a man who has a regard for his health. Every night, at nine o'clock, he sat down to cards. The party generally consisted of his two daughters, the Princesses Amelia and Caroline, two or three of the late queen's ladies, and as many of the gentlemen of the household,—whose presence there was a proof of the sovereign's personal esteem for them. Had none other been present, the party would have been one on which remark would not be called for. But at the same table with the children of good Queen Caroline, was seated their father's mistress, the naturalized German Baroness Walmoden—Countess of Yarmouth. George II. had no idea that the presence of such a woman was an outrage committed upon his own children; nor would his habitual phlegm have been much moved had he been told that his conduct in this case was unmarked by a sense of either dignity or propriety; and yet he himself feared to thus offend publicly. Every Saturday, in summer, he carried that uniform party, but *without his daughters*, to Richmond. They went in coaches-and-six, in the middle of the day, with the heavy horse-guards kicking up the dust before them; —dined, walked an hour in the garden, returned in the same dusty parade; and his majesty fancied himself the most gallant and lively prince in Europe.*

He had leisure, however, to think of the establishment of the sons of Frederick; and, in 1756, George II. sent a message to his grandson, now Prince of Wales, whereby he offered him 40,000*l.* a year, and apartments at Kensington and St. James's. The

* Walpole.

prince accepted the allowance, but declined the residence, on the ground that separation from his mother would be painful to her. When this plea was made, the prince, as Dodington remarks in his Diary, did not live with his mother, either in town or country. The prince's brother Edward, afterwards created Duke of York, was furnished with a modest revenue of 5000*l.* a year. The young prince is said to have been not insensible to the attractions of Lady Essex, daughter of Sir Charles Williams. The prince, says Walpole, "has got his liberty, and seems extremely disposed to use it, and has great life and good humor. She has already made a ball for him. Sir Richard Lyttelton was so wise as to make her a visit, and advise her not to meddle with politics; that the princess (Dowager of Wales) would conclude that it was a plan laid for bringing together Prince Edward and Mr. Fox. As Mr. Fox was not just the person my Lady Essex was thinking of bringing together with Prince Edward, she replied, very cleverly, 'And my dear Sir Richard, let me advise you not to meddle with politics neither.'"

From the attempt to establish the Prince of Wales under his own superintendence, the king was called to mourn over, or at least to hear of, the death of another child.

The truth-loving Caroline Elizabeth was unreservedly beloved by her parents, was worthy of the affection, and repaid it by an ardent attachment. She was fair, good, accomplished, and unhappy. The cause of her unhappiness may be, perhaps, more than guessed at in the circumstance of her retiring from the world, on the death of Lord Hervey. The sentiment with which he had, for the sake of vanity or ambition, inspired her, was developed into a sort of motherly love for his children, for whom she exhibited great and constant regard. Therewith, she was conscious of but one strong desire,—a desire to die. For many years previous to her decease, she lived in her father's palace, literally "cloistered up," inaccessible to nearly all, yet with active sympathy for the poor and suffering classes in the metropolis.

Walpole, speaking of the death of the Princess Caroline, the third daughter of George II., says, though her state of health had been so dangerous for years, and her absolute confinement for

many of them, her disorder was, in a manner, new and sudden, and her death unexpected by herself, though earnestly her wish. Her goodness was constant and uniform, her generosity immense, her charities most extensive; in short, I, no royalist, could be lavish in her praise. What will divert you is, that the Duke of Norfolk's and Lord Northumberland's upper servants have asked leave to put themselves in mourning, not out of regard for this admirable princess, but to be more *sur le bon ton* I told the duchess I supposed they would expect her to mourn hereafter for their relations.

The princess died in December, 1757, and early in the following year the king was seized with a serious fit of illness, which terminated in a severe attack of gout, "which had never been at court above twice in his reign," says Walpole, and the appearance of which was considered as giving the royal sufferer a chance of five or six years more of life. But it was not to be so, for the old royal lion in the Tower had just expired, and people who could "put that and that together," could not but pronounce oracularly that the royal man would follow the royal brute. Nay, says Lord Chesterfield to his son, "this extravagancy was believed by many above *people*." The fine gentleman means that it was believed by many of his own class. Below the peers he saw the *people*, just as Dangeau saw in the citizens of Paris the "canaille." Chesterfield, it will be remembered, was fond of citing proverbs, but he always did it with a condescending air; he used the illustrative wit, tacking on to it a sort of apologetic, as the *vulgar* say.

It was not the old king who was the first to be summoned from the royal circle, by the Inevitable Angel. A young princess passed away before the more aged sovereign. Walpole has a word or two to say upon the death of the Princess Elizabeth, the second daughter of Frederick Prince of Wales, who died in the September of this year. The immediate cause of death was an inflammation of the bowels, which carried her off in two days. "Her figure," he says, "was so very unfortunate, that it would have been difficult for her to be happy, but her parts and application were extraordinary. I saw her act in 'Cato' at eight years old (when she could not stand alone, but was forced to lean

against the side-scene), better than any of her brothers and sisters. She had been so unhealthy that, at that age, she had not been taught to read, but had learned the part of Lucia by hearing the others study their parts. She went to her father and mother, and begged she might act. They put her off as gently as they could; she desired leave to repeat her part, and when she did, it was with so much sense, that there was no denying her."

Before George's hour had yet come, another child was to precede the aged father to the tomb. In 1759 the eldest daughter, least loved of the daughters of Caroline, died in Holland. At the period of her birth, the 9th of October, 1709, her godmother, Queen Anne, was occupying the throne of England; her grandfather, George, was Elector of Hanover; Sophia Dorothea was languishing in the castle of Ahlden, and her father and mother wore the style and title of Electoral Prince and Princess. She was born at Hanover, and was five years old when, with her sister Amelia Sophia, who was two years younger, her mother, the Princess Caroline, afterwards queen, arrived in this country on the 15th of October, 1714. She early exhibited a haughty and imperious disposition; possessed very little of feeling for, and exercised very little gentleness towards, those who even rendered her a willing service. Queen Caroline sharply corrected this last defect. She discovered that the princess was accustomed to make one of her ladies-in-waiting stand by her bed-side every night, and read aloud to her till she fell asleep. On one occasion, the princess kept her lady standing so long, that she at last fainted from sheer fatigue. On the following night, when Queen Caroline had retired to rest, she sent for her offending daughter, and requested her to read aloud to her for a while. The princess was about to take a chair, but the queen said she could hear her better if she read standing. Anne obeyed, and read till fatigue made her pause. "Go on," said the queen, "it entertains me." Anne went on, sulkily and wearily, till increasingly weary she once more paused for rest, and looked round for a seat. "Continue, continue," said the queen, "I am not yet tired of listening." Anne burst into tears with vexation, and confessed that she *was* tired, both of standing and reading, and was ready to sink with fatigue.

"If you feel so faint from one evening of such employment, what must your attendants feel, upon whom you force the same discipline night after night? Be less selfish, my child, in future, and do not indulge in luxuries purchased at the cost of weariness and ill-health to others." Anne did not profit by the lesson, and few people were warmly attached to the proud and egotistical lady.

The princess spent nearly twenty years in England, and a little more than a quarter of a century in Holland; the last seven years of that period she was a widow. She was ambitious to the last. Her last thoughts were for the aggrandizement of her family, and, when she was battling with death, she rallied her strength, in order to sign the contract of marriage between her daughter and the Prince Nassau Walberg, and to write a letter to the States' General, requesting them to sanction the match. Having accomplished this, the eldest daughter of Caroline laid down the pen, and calmly awaited the death which was not long in coming.

It remains for us now only to speak of the demise of the husband of Caroline. The hour of that widowed king at length had struck. On the night of Friday, the 24th of October, the king had retired to rest at an early hour, and well in health. At six he drank his usual cup of chocolate, walked to the window, looked out upon Kensington Gardens, and made some observation upon the direction of the wind, which had lately delayed the mails from Holland, and which kept from him intelligence which he was anxious to receive, and which he was saved the pain of hearing. He had said to the page in waiting, that he would take a turn in the garden; and he was on his way thither at seven o'clock, when the attendant heard the sound of a fall. He entered the room through which the king was passing on his way to the garden, and he found George the Second lying on the ground, with a wound on the right side of his face, caused by striking it in his fall against the side of a bureau. He could only say, "Send for Amelia," and then, gasping for breath, died. Whilst the sick, almost deaf, and purblind daughter of the king was sent for, the message being that her father wished to speak to her, the servants carried the body to the bed from which the king had so lately risen. They had not time to close the eyes, when the princess

entered the room. Before they could inform her of the unexpected catastrophe, she had advanced to the bed-side: she stooped over him, fancying that he was speaking to her, and that she could not hear his words. The poor lady was sensibly shocked; but she did not lose her presence of mind. She dispatched messengers for surgeons, and wrote to the Prince of Wales. The medical men were speedily in attendance; but he was beyond mortal help, and they could only conclude that the king had died of the rupture of some vessel of the heart, as he had for years been subject to palpitations of that organ. Dr. Beilby Porteus, in his panegyrizing epitaph on the monarch, considers his death as having been appropriate and necessary. He had accomplished all for which he had been commissioned by heaven, and had received all the rewards in return which heaven could give to man on earth:—

> "No further blessing could on earth be given,
> The next degree of happiness—was Heaven."

George II. died possessed of considerable personal property. Of this he bequeathed fifty thousand pounds between the Duke of Cumberland and the Princesses Amelia and Mary. The share received by his daughters did not equal what he left to his last "favorite"—Lady Yarmouth. The legacy to that German lady, of whom he used to write to Queen Caroline from Hanover, "You must love the Walmoden, for she loves *me*," consisted of a cabinet and "contents," valued, it is said, at eleven thousand pounds. His son, the Duke of Cumberland, further received from him a bequest of a hundred and thirty thousand pounds, placed on mortgages not immediately recoverable. The testator had originally bequeathed twice that amount to his son; but he revoked half, on the ground of the expenses of the war. He describes him as the best son that ever lived, and declares that he had never given him cause to be offended: "A pretty strong comment," as Horace Walpole remarks, when detailing the incidents of the king's decease, "on the affair of Klosterseven." The king's jewels were worth, according to Lady Suffolk, one hundred and fifty thousand pounds: of the best of them, which he kept in Hanover, he made crown jewels; the remainder, with some

cabinets, were left to the duke. "Two days before the king died," says Walpole, "it happened oddly to my Lady Suffolk. She went to make a visit at Kensington, not knowing of the review. She found herself hemmed in by coaches, and was close to him, whom she had not seen for so many years, and to my Lady Yarmouth; but they did not know her. It struck her, and has made her sensible to his death."

Intelligence of the king's decease was sent, as before said, to the Prince of Wales, by the Princess Amelia. The heir-apparent, however, received earlier intimation of the fact through a German *valet-de-chambre*, at Kensington. The latter dispatched a note, which bore a private mark, previously agreed upon, and which reached the heir to so much greatness, as he was out riding. He knew what had happened, by the sign. "Without surprise or emotion, without dropping a word that indicated what had happened, he said his horse was lame, and turned back to Kew. At dismounting he said to the groom,—'I have said this horse was lame; I forbid you to say to the contrary.'" If this story of Walpole's be true, the longest reign in England started from a lie.

In the meantime there was the old king to bury, and he was consigned to the tomb with a ceremony which has been graphically pictured by Horace Walpole, upon whom I will once more venture to draw for details, to attempt to improve which can only be to mar them. He describes himself as attending the funeral, not as a mourner, but as "a rag of quality," in which character he walked, as affording him the best means of seeing the show. He pronounced it a noble sight, and he appears to have enjoyed it extremely. "The prince's chamber, hung with purple, and a quantity of silver lamps, the coffin under a canopy of purple velvet, and six vast chandeliers of silver, on high stands, had a very good effect." The critic of taste was satisfied, and that not only with the scenery and properties, but also with the procession and paraphernalia. "The procession, through a line of foot-guards, every seventh man bearing a torch—the horse-guards lining the outside —their officers, with drawn sabres and crape sashes, on horseback—the drums muffled—the fifes—bells tolling—and minute-guns,—all this was very solemn." There was, however, something

more exquisite still in the estimation of this very unsentimental rag of quality. "The *charm*," he says, not at all imagining that even a funeral could not have something charming about it—"the charm was the entrance to the Abbey, where we were received by the dean and chapter in rich robes, the choir and almoners bearing torches; the whole Abbey so illuminated that one saw it to greater advantage than by day; the tombs, long aisles, and fretted roof, all appearing distinctly, and with the happiest *chiaro oscuro*." The happy light and shade of death is a strange term in the mouth of so correct a gentleman as Horace Walpole, but he only looks at things in the sense of Monsieur Josse. He thus proceeds:—"There wanted nothing but incense and little chapels here and there, with priests saying mass for the repose of the defunct; yet one could not complain of its not being Catholic enough. I had been in dread of being coupled with some boy of ten years old; but the heralds were not very accurate, and I walked with George Grenville, taller and older, to keep me in countenance. When we came to the Chapel of Henry VII. all solemnity and decorum ceased; no order was observed, people sat or stood where they could or would; the yeomen of the guard were crying out for help, oppressed by the immense weight of the coffin; the bishop read sadly, and blundered in the prayers. The fine chapter, *Man that is born of a woman*, was chanted, not read; and the anthem, besides being immeasurably tedious, would have served as well for a nuptial. The real serious part was the figure of the Duke of Cumberland, heightened by a thousand melancholy circumstances. He had a dark-brown adonis, with a cloak of black cloth, and a train of five yards. Attending the funeral of a father *could not be pleasant;* his leg extremely bad, yet forced to stand upon it near two hours; his face bloated and disturbed with his late paralytic stroke, which has affected, too, one of his eyes; and placed over the mouth of the vault, into which, in all probability, he must himself soon descend; think how unpleasant a situation. He bore it all with a firm and unaffected countenance. This grave scene was fully contrasted by the burlesque Duke of Newcastle. He fell into a fit of crying the moment he came into the chapel, and flung himself back into a stall, the archbishop hovering over him with a

smelling-bottle; but in two minutes his curiosity got the better of his hypocrisy, and he ran about the chapel with his glass, to spy who was or who was not there, spying with one hand and mopping his eyes with the other. Then returned the fear of catching cold: and the Duke of Cumberland, who was sinking with heat, felt himself weighed down, and turning round, found it was the Duke of Newcastle standing upon his train to avoid the chill of the marble. It was very theatrical to look down into the vault, where the coffin lay attended by mourners with lights. Clavering, the groom of the chamber, refused to sit up with the body, and was dismissed by the king's order."

Speaking of the last year of the life of George II., Walpole remarks with a truth that cannot be gainsaid,—"It was glorious and triumphant beyond example; and his death was most felicitous to himself, being without a pang, without tasting a reverse, and when his sight and hearing were so nearly extinguished that any prolongation could but have swelled to calamities."

END OF VOL. I.

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